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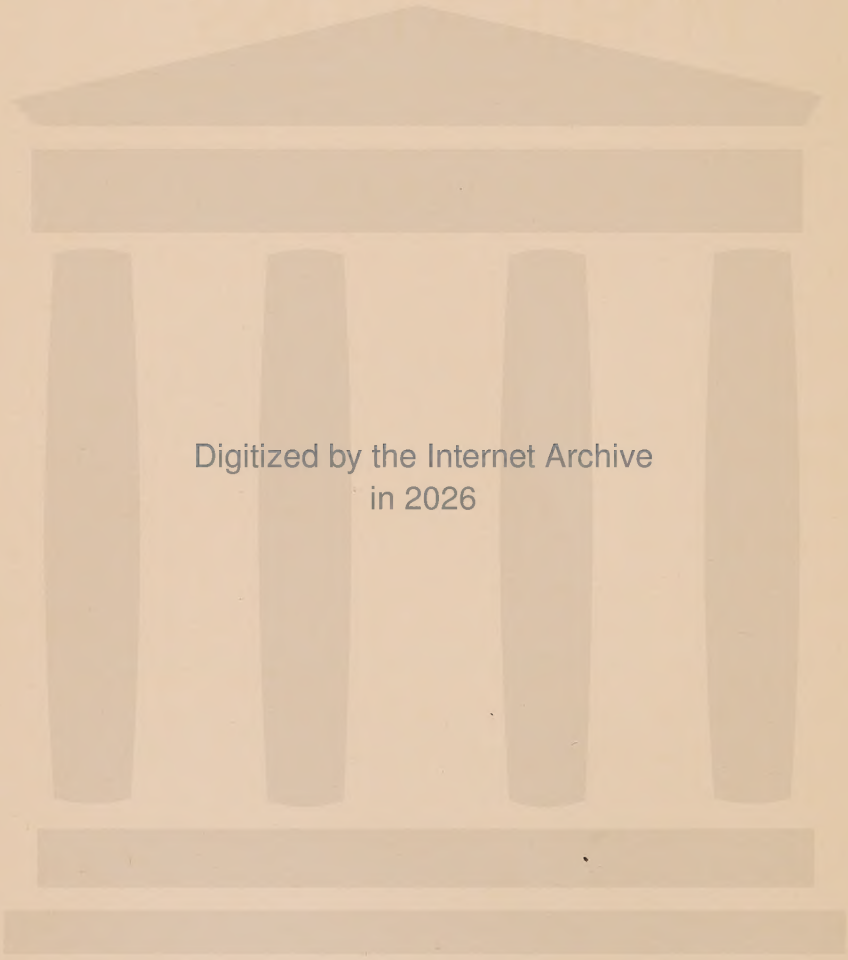

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SMOKY MOUNTAINS HISTORY AS TOLD IN PLACE-NAMES *

By Paul M. Fink

To me history is not solely the recounting of heroic deeds, of battles fought and won—sometimes lost—, of political campaigns and the intricate manoeuvers of politicians to gain their ends. The social side of history is to me equally as intriguing—how the people lived, the common as well as the great, their joys and their griefs, how they triumphed over the hardships that in the early days were ever among them—for it is in such a story that one reads the real account of the life of a nation.

There is one chapter of history, and particularly that part of history peculiar to a certain locality, that is frequently overlooked; yet, if studied carefully, it will throw much light on the region under consideration, particularly if it be a region that for some reason or other has been allowed to develop of itself, without too much mixture of foreign influence. This chapter is that of the place names, those names bestowed on mountains and valleys, streams, and all other physical features of the terrain. A much more striking illustration of this could hardly be found than in our own Great Smokies.

When in 1929 the United States Geological Survey began the preparation of an accurate, large scale map of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park area, at its suggestion a committee was appointed in each of the two states concerned, North Carolina and Tennessee, to canvass all the place names within the park boundaries, to see that they were correctly located and spelled, to eliminate duplications, and to supply new and fitting titles for those discarded —in short, to see that the new map be correct in all details of nomenclature. On this committee, in Tennessee, were named James E. Thompson, Brockway Crouch, and Robert Lindsay Mason of Knoxville, Hodge Mathes of Johnson City, and myself. In North Carolina, the personnel of the group varied from time to time,

*An address delivered before the East Tennessee Historical Society at its annual banquet in Knoxville, October 6, 1933.

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though the burden of the work fell on the capable shoulders of Horace Kephart, George Masa, and Verne Rhoades.

Before entering upon this task I had been long familiar with the often picturesque names of these mountains, but had thought little of their origin, save in a very general way. Now, as I studied them more carefully, I could see how well they reflected the history of the hills, of those hardy souls who had first explored them, of those who in recent years have labored so long to save them for the benefit of generations yet unborn, and of yet other more humble souls whose influence hardly extended beyond gunshot of their long rifles. In the often unique and always expressive titles applied by the native mountaineers could be seen ideas clothed in homely idioms, the record of physical characteristics and of happenings that had made much of an impression on them. Many a story was found hiding under a simple name, a story of pathos or of comedy, of simple daily occurrence or perhaps of grim tragedy. Taken as a whole, in the nomenclature of the Smokies may be read its real, unwritten history.

In our research we found many things to confuse us, and to force us often to use our ingenuity and imaginations for a solution. For example, a certain mountain might be known by one name on its northern slope, and by an entirely different one on its other side. We might be, and sometimes were, misled by those who, wishing to perpetuate their own family title, told us "That is Jones Knob," a name that had no basis in fact. When we would ask for the reason this mountain or that stream was called thus and so, we might hear several different versions, with no details alike. An example is the Parson Bald. One story is that it drew its appellation from a man of that name who owned it, or at least lived nearby in the early days. The other was that formerly open-air religious meetings were held on its wide grassy top, where the "parson" held forth. And so with many another. In consequence there is no doubt that tonight I will cite an origin for some place name that is utterly at variance with the story you may have heard about the same spot. You may be right and I wrong—who knows?—for in many cases it is utterly impossible to ferret out the truth, so authenticated that there is no ground for controversy.

Another source of grief for us was the eliminations of duplications—and they were many. We found not less than a dozen Big Creeks and Big Branches in the area. Only one of each could remain, and substitutes must be found for the remainder. Cold Spring

Gaps, Fork Ridges, Indian and Indian Camp Creeks and Mill Creeks were everywhere. New names must be devised for dozens of such and in choosing them we used our best efforts to retain, so far as possible, the picturesque local color and vernacular of the mountains.

The name "Smoky" itself tells of the ever-present veil of ethereal blue haze that hangs over the mountains, softening their rugged outlines and bringing a rare beauty of coloring. The name dates from the early days, for when in 1789 North Carolina ceded its western lands to the United States the boundary was described in part as "to the Painted Rock on French Broad River, thence along the highest ridge of said mountain to the place where it is called the 'Great Iron' or 'Smoky Mountain.' " etc. This is the first use of the name my research has revealed. However, the idea of the name may have been influenced by the Cherokee, aboriginal inhabitants of the land. Once, when a wrinkled ancient of the tribe was asked what name they had for the range, he answered "Sha-cona-ga." Pressed for a translation, he replied, "Means blue, like smoke."

It is to be regretted that the Cherokee did not leave more of their musical syllables to grace our maps. Hardly a name survives in the Tennessee part of the Smokies. On the Carolina side, where today some three thousand of the Cherokee still live among the hills their ancestors ranged, we found only a pitiful few. Oconalufty, Tuckasegee and Cataloochee head the list. Others now appear, for we took pains to discover suitable ones for features we must rename. Hence you will hear of Anakeesta Ridge ("place of the balsams") Mt. Winnesoka ("abundance of grapes"), and the like.

The Indians did leave a trace or two on the Tennessee side, for in Abrams Creek is perpetuated the name of Old Abram, also called Old Abraham, the Cherokee chief who led the last war party against the Watauga settlements, and whose village was near the mouth of this stream. Abrams Creek drains Cades Cove, which one tradition says should really be Kate's Cove from Abram's wife, known to the whites as Kate.

An amusing example of the white settler's gift of misunderstanding the Indians and later twisting the result to suit himself is shown in Curry He and Curry She Mountains. About this region grew luxuriously the "gurahi," a Spring plant relished by the Indians as a salad. In our mind's eye we can see a Cherokee pointing out a high knob to his white acquaintance and grunting "Gurahi," to tell of the edible plant growing there. The settler, unfamiliar with

the dialect, took it to be the local name of the mountain, and rudely corrupted it to Curry He. Years later some one, ignorant of the origin of the name, conceived the idea that if there was a Curry *He* Mountain the gentler sex should not be slighted, so he christened a neighboring peak, and now we have a Curry *She* as well.

Trace of Indian occupancy is found, too, in Indian Gap, the main site of crossing the range before the motor highway was constructed through Newfound Gap. It was through Indian Gap that a prehistoric thoroughfare passed, connecting the Cherokee towns on the Tuckaseegee with the Great Warpath traversing the length of the East Tennessee Valley. Davenport's notes of the 1821 survey mention this as the "Indian path at the head of Deep Creek."

Along the skyline are found the great peaks, Clingman Dome, Mts. Guyot, Le Conte, Kephart and Chapman, all of them honoring men whose works have identified them closely with these hills. Clingman Dome bears the name of General Thomas L. Clingman of North Carolina, soldier, statesman and mountain lover, to whose explorations and writings we are indebted for much of our early knowledge of the Carolina mountains. He it was who in 1858 made the first measurement of the peak previously called Smoky Dome, but then christened in his honor Clingman Dome.

On either side of Clingman Dome is a slightly lower summit, to which have been given the names of General Clingman's companions on this trip, S. B. Buckley and Dr. S. L. Love. Buckley, a naturalist of wide experience, had already done some little bit of exploring on his own account in the Smokies, by whose ruggedness he owned himself to be suitably impressed. Dr. Love, prominent politically in Haywood county and in state affairs as well, appears to have had litle connection with the Smokies, other than as a companion of Clingman and Buckley on this trip.

Second in rank among Smoky's peaks is the one bearing the name of Arnold Guyot, always to be remembered as the man who made the first really comprehensive scientific exploration of these mountains. A Swiss by birth, an American by adoption, and a geographer by profession, the Appalachian mountains claimed his interest soon after he came to America, and during many summer vacations from his work at Princeton, he devoted his time to their exploration and measurement. The Smokies in particular charmed him, for of them he said: "By the general elevation, both of its peaks and crest, by its perfect continuity, its great roughness and difficulty of approach, this may be called the Master Chain of the Appalachian

System." Several consecutive summers prior to 1860 he spent here, making a thorough barometric survey of the Smokies; and his list of elevations and the map drawn under his direction give the first detailed information we possess of the characteristics of the whole range. Evidence of his passion for accuracy is the fact that his list of elevations, made by barometric observations under conditions usually difficult and most unfavorable, varies little from the results of recent precise instrumental surveys.

Smoky's most spectacular mountain, Le Conte, carries the name of a man nationally honored for his researches in the field of geology, but we have no evidence to indicate that Joseph Le Conte ever saw the peak upon which Guyot bestowed his name. Le Conte was a friend for whose attainments Guyot had great admiration; and, too, he was acting as observer at the stationary barometer in Waynesville for a part of the time during which Guyot was making his own readings on the high tops.

A man of more modern times was Horace Kephart, immortalized in Mt. Kephart. A librarian by profession and a man trained in literary research, in 1903 he came to the Smokies and lost himself in their fastnesses, to live the life of the native mountaineer. In this intimate contact he acquired the material which he presented to the world in *Our Southern Highlanders,* conceded to be the best and truest delineation of mountain life and character yet written. Through this and his many other writings on the subject he has without doubt brought the Smokies to the attention of more people than has any other person. It was just prior to his tragic death in 1931 that, through the efforts of devoted friends, his name was bestowed on one of Smoky's lofty peaks.

These men discovered, explored, and told the world of the Smokies, and the record of their association has been perpetuated by the mountains bearing their names. In the last two years the same honor has been given to another man to whom we are indebted, as we are to no other one person, for the preservation of the Smokies from commercial despoliation and for the creation among them of a new national park. Had it not been for the unselfish interest, untiring perseverance, and ceaseless efforts, even in the face of severe opposition and discouragement, of Colonel David C. Chapman, these mountains of which we are so proud today would in a few years have been only a devastated waste, and the grandest bit of primeval wilderness in the East would have been forever gone. If any man's name may deservedly be affixed to one of Smoky's mountains it is that of Colonel Chapman.

Names of other men appear in the category—for example, Return J. Meigs, appointed in 1802 to run a survey of one of the boundaries established in a treaty with the Cherokee Indians, a line that was to cross the crest of the Smokies west of Indian Gap. The exact location of Meig's Post, point of departure of this line from the top of the mountain, was the basis of contention in a celebrated lawsuit which involved the title to thousands of acres of valuable timber lands. Blanket Mountain is supposed to have received its title from the fact that during the course of Meigs' survey a gaudily colored blanket was hung on the highest limbs of a tall tree on its top, to furnish a sighting point for surveyors on a distant eminence.

The long ridge running from the divide of Smoky toward the Indian country was fittingly chosen to bear the name of Colonel W. H. Thomas, the beloved "Wil-usdi" of the Cherokee. Long their trusted white leader in the dark days following the removal of 1839, when most of the tribe was forcibly taken West, Colonel Thomas was placed at the head of the Indians entering the Confederate army during the Civil War, and with them did much work on the road that passed through Indian Gap. About the same time men under his direction were working the mineral deposits in Alum Cave.

Too numerous to call is the roll of the more humble pioneers and early settlers who have given title to minor features, streams, and ridges among the mountains. But the record of the part they played is forever perpetuated on the maps of the country.

Various activities in the mountains have left their trace, as witness the Anderson Road that just prior to the Civil War was projected to give a way of travel across the top of the mountain from Cades Cove to the settlements on the Tuckaseegee. Built only on the Tennessee side, from the Cove to the Spence Cabin on Thunderhead, record of its construction is found in the names of two great spurs jutting northward into Tennessee—Bote Mountain and Defeat Ridge. In those days it was not thought necessary to have the route of a road determined by engineers; the course to be followed was left to the judgment of the builders, who in this case were to a goodly degree Cherokee Indians, speaking a broken English. In their own language there is no sound of "V," and they find difficulty in framing it in English, generally substituting the sound of "B." To decide which of two ridges was to be followed to the top of the mountain the opinion of each member of the crew was sought, with the will of the majority to rule. The Cherokee were unanimous in their decision, each one rising, pointing to the westernmost of the two spurs,

and exclaiming "Bote," to denote that he *voted* for that route. It was chosen, and to this day goes by the name of Bote Mountain. The other, rejected, was christened Defeat Ridge.

To one unacquainted with some of the imagery of the mountaineers it would seem that these mountains were the favored resort of His Satanic Majesty, for we find among them the Devil's Court House, Devil's Den, Devil's Race Track, Devil's Nest Creek, Devil's Tater Patch, and the like. Invariably such a title will be affixed to some region more than commonly rugged and choked with laurel, where only the Devil himself could find comfort. Indeed, the common name for an impenetrable tangle of rhododendron is "laurel hell", and one who has struggled for hours in the midst of one will cheerfully agree that the chosen word is apt indeed.

From such a view-point alone Huggins Hell is justly entitled to its name, but one story, upon the authenticity of which some doubt is cast, gives a different origin. According to this version, this precipitous ravine, filled with impenetrable laurel, on the side of Mt. Le Conte, had never been explored, when one Huggins vowed he would see what was there if he had to go to Hell itself. He never returned, so he was popularly supposed to have carried out his alternative.

In the early days, with inadequate means of communication or of transportation, a tiny tub mill ground the meal for each community. It was water-driven, of course, and hence we found not less than a dozen Mill Creeks in the Park area. Sometimes the name of the owner might be affixed, and there would be Mingus Mill Creek. Forge Creek also plainly shows its origin. Another mountain industry must have been very much followed in the good old days, if not still today, for there were seven Stillhouse creeks and branches. In these cases the name may have been given as a sort of signboard for the thirsty.

Native mountain nomenclature has a way of being most picturesque and at the same time most fitting. Rowdy Branch tells in its name of its turbulent passage over the rocks and the falls in its bed, as does Roaring Fork and Rough Creek. On the side of Dripping Springs Mountain are a series of ledges from whose crevices the water oozes, while an intermittent spring, with its alternate periods of free flow and low water, has gained it the unique, but wholly descriptive, appellation of Fittified Spring. Miry Ridge has upon its summit a concavity or basin in its rocky frame from which

the water of the heavy rainfall never evaporates. Over the course of years decaying vegetation has filled this with a clinging black muck and through this mire the passerby must walk. When a sudden blizzard froze many cattle in a deep cove, their bleached white skeletons suggested Bone Valley. Nearby is Desolation, and a single glimpse of its laurel tangled cliffs and ledges convinces one of the fitness of its name.

During the Civil War the tide of battle was largely away from the mountains, but the dwellers in the valleys were often harassed by bands of partizan guerillas, who nominally were preying only on the adherents of the opposing side, but who often used this pretext merely as a cloak for thievish activities practiced upon whomsoever possessed any goods of value. Visited time and again by such marauders, the inhabitants of one community left their cabins and penetrated deeper and deeper among the spurs of the high mountains until they found a beautiful and utterly secluded cove. Settling here in the hope that their troubles were over and that they were safeley hidden from the griefs of the old, they called their haven "New World".

Stark tragedy, too, has its record in the list. An example is that of two brothers, bear-hunting on the headwaters of Cosby Creek. One of them, by some mischance, shot and killed the other. Grief-stricken by the sad accident, the survivor, to quote my informant, "took on so they called the place Cryin' Creek."

Even more gruesome in its details is another case. Contrary to trappers' usage as well as law, a bear trap had been set in a seldom used trail, with no sign to warn passersby of the danger. One Meldening, wandering through the woods, stepped into it, the heavy steeltrap breaking his leg. So crippled, he could not release himself and could only await a lingering death by starvation and exposure unless by rare chance some one should follow the same trail. When he was already near his last breath the trappers came to see what luck had been theirs. Finding the unexpected catch, they were in a serious predicament, for if they released their victim they would be in danger of severe punishment. So, in spite of the piteous appeals of the helpless Meldening, one of the hunters struck him over the head with a club, killing him. Then the body was tumbled over a nearby cliff, where the bones were found the following Spring. For long he was thought to have been the victim of an accident, until the deathbed confession of one of the murderers clear-

ed up the mystery. And today the scene of the tragedy is called Meldening's Death Ridge.

But one can be deceived in the apparent source of a name. Hostility and Battle Branch are two small streams close by one another. Scenting a feud warfare or a clash between blockaders and the law, I asked a native friend. He answered, "We called 'em that because the country was so rough and horsetile you had to battle your way through." It is the same with Bloody Branch. This was not the scene of deadly combat, but simply the slaughtering place of a drove of hogs, grown too wild to be herded home. And Fightin' Creek drew its name from a long continued bickering over the location of a school house, rather than from any physical conflict.

Excepting Indian titles, only a single name in any language other than English appears in the Smokies. This is El'rado, a creek and also a part of the territory drained by it. A number of years ago a native, returned from working in the California gold-fields, prospected here for the yellow metal, and gave to his workings the Spanish name El Dorado, "the golden," to be shortened by local usage to El'rado. Unfortunately, all efforts to find gold were fruitless.

These are but a few of the traditions that the place-names of Smoky have to tell, but we cannot tonight recount them all. In closing the story, permit me to assure you that it has been a privilege to have had the opportunity of passing this small number on to you, who are so interested in our mountains, their history and their folklore.

GIDEON BLACKBURN

By V. M. Queener

I

Gideon Blackburn was a benefactor of those people, white and red, who lived in the Tennessee territory while it was a new section of a new nation. His work was not spectacular enough to be carefully recorded by his contemporaries. To them, Gideon Blackburn was a preacher who performed his tasks in an unusually eloquent and persuasive manner and little more. To us of this day, he is not a forgotten man but one rarely mentioned.

On August 27, 1772, Gideon Blackburn, another descendant of that numerous clan of empire-builders, the Scotch-Irish, came into the world. The place was Augusta county, Virginia.[1] His parents were devout Presbyterians; they were not overly blessed with worldly goods nor were they the poorest in that frontier country.[2] His father was Robert Blackburn, whose name does not appear on the tax roll, nor among the land owners of Augusta county.[3] Robert Blackburn was the son of Benjamin Blackburn, who fought with Andrew Lewis at Point Pleasant in Dunmore's War and moved to the Tennessee country sometime before 1786. One of Robert's brothers, General Samuel Blackburn, was more successful in accumulating wealth. He fought with Washington in the Revolution, taught school, served as a member of the Virginia legislature, and was a successful lawyer. He accumulated a considerable estate in which his nephew, Gideon, shared three years before the latter's death. Gideon, being a minister, received the major part of the old general's library; his cousin, Samuel, Jr., received the pistols and the imported shotguns.[4] Gideon's mother was, before her marriage, a Miss Richie or Ritchey.

[1] Thomas Rinaker, "Gideon Blackburn, the Founder of Blackburn University", in *The Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (Springfield, October, 1924), 398-410; William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit* (N. Y., 1858), 43.
[2] Rinaker, *loc. cit.*, 399.
[3] *Ibid.*, 400.
[4] *Ibid.*, 401.

During his early years, Gideon lived with his grandfather, Benjamin Blackburn, the disabled veteran of Point Pleasant. Why it was necessary for him to live with his grandfather, or when his father or mother died is not known, but it seems that Gideon was an orphan from an early age. Upon the death of his grandfather, Gideon, now a lad of fourteen or fifteen, went to live with a maternal uncle, Gideon Ritchey, for whom he was named. This uncle was unmarried and made his living by manual labor, but he was able to give his nephew a home, much encouragement, and some help while the latter was securing his education.[5] The boy showed promise of unusual intelligence and was a hard worker, not only at his studies, but at manual labor which he performed in order to help support himself. For a while he worked at night, tending a sawmill where he earned a dollar per night, and instead of "sleeping on the job," he spent his idle moments studying by the light of the fire which he was engaged to keep.[6]

When Gideon was about fifteen years of age he was converted, or, as he put it, "received the Renewing Grace" and felt that he was "called" to preach. His life work now decided upon, he set out to procure a literary education at Martin's Academy, an institution which was founded and presided over by Tennessee's first pastor and teacher, Samuel Doak. When he had about finished his course at the Academy, his uncle moved into Jefferson county, and Gideon went along. Here, both Gideons lived with John Blackburn, a paternal uncle of the younger Gideon.[7] As he did not feel that his education was complete, his literary studies were continued and, in addition, he began the study of theology under the guidance of Dr. Robert Henderson, who lived five miles away at Dandridge. Gideon was particularly fortunate in securing Dr. Henderson as a teacher, for Henderson was "endowed with the greatest talent for public speaking." He was "able to move an audience as he willed." With his matchless mimicry, command of voice, countenance, attitude, gesture, grotesque humor, and solemn appeals, he drew crowds and had his way with them.[8] How much of this necessary equipage of a frontier preacher was inculcated or developed in the young man, is a matter of conjecture, but within a few years, he was known throughout the Tennessee region as an eloquent and powerful preacher. Gideon

[5] Sprague, *op. cit.*, 43.
[6] Lewis Collins, *History of Kentucky* (Louisville, 1882), I, 384.
[7] Sprague, *op. cit.*, 43.
[8] J. E. Alexander, *The Synod of Tennessee* (Philadelphia, 1890), 89.

Blackburn completed his theological course and was licensed to preach by the Abingdon Presbytery in 1792.

His education finished, he wasted no time about entering upon his life's work. In the same year he set out with a company of soldiers marching to Fort Craig, the present site of Maryville.[9] This recently educated, not yet ordained, man of twenty, was tall, straight, large framed, with a face of homely but strong features topped with long black hair. He not only carried a rifle and other equipment of a soldier, but also a Bible and a hymn book. All were to be used by him in making "good Indians." Soon after his arrival at Fort Craig, he built two log houses, one a dwelling where he intended to begin his "housekeeping." The other was to house the New Providence church which had been organized some eight years before by a Virginia minister named Archibald Scott.[10] Blackburn became the first pastor of the New Providence church in 1792. One year later, on October 3, 1793, the young minister was married to a cousin by the name of Grizzel Blackburn. To this union were born eleven children, four sons and seven daughters. Two of his sons became ministers and a third died while preparing to become one.[11]

At Maryville he did not stop with one church but became pastor of a second called Eusebia church, located ten miles east of Maryville. In addition, he made many trips with the soldiers, travelling from fort to fort, preaching to the soldiers and the scattered groups of settlers.[12] He often took part as a soldier in Indian wars, sometimes even leading the soldiers into battle.[13] He was always ready to wield the sword, but his work as a minister, to some extent, eased the wounds made by the barbed edge of civilization as it cut down a weaker people.

In frontier society the minister was not exempt from manual labor. He must fell trees, clear land, and plant corn, much as any layman, and in addition, prepare his lengthy sermons. Blackburn's sermons were usually prepared as he worked. Often, while ploughing, he would leave a piece of paper and an inkhorn on a stump near the end of the field. On this paper he would write the main topics or headings of his discourses as thought produced them. Then,

[9] Sprague, *op. cit.*, 44.
[10] Will A. McTeer, *History of New Providence Church* (Maryville, 1921), 37; Edgar A. Elmore, "A Pioneer of the Old Southwest, Gideon Blackburn, M. D.," in *Home Mission Heroes,* (N. Y., 1904), 45ff.
[11] Sprague, *op. cit.*, 47.
[12] Elmore, *loc. cit.*; Alexander, *op. cit.*, 87.
[13] Sprague, *op. cit.*, 50.

while continuing his ploughing, he would go over and over his skeleton speech mentally, until he had filled out and organized each part.[14] No doubt, many a discourse, reeking with fire and brimstone, was produced while he peacefully tilled the soil. His sermons, however, always had the power of the extemporaneous and never the mechanical ring of a memorized speech. "He rarely wrote out a sermon, and never read one in the pulpit."[15] This habit of composing his sermons as he worked became dominant and in later years he much preferred to prepare his sermons while riding on horseback from place to place, or while walking the floor of his study.

As a preacher, even from the beginning of his ministry, "one source of his power with an audience was his ability at painting Scriptural scenes and presenting them vividly as present realities so that an auditor could say, 'I seem to have been seeing rather than hearing.' "[16] He not only held his audience by the brilliance of his speech; his appearance commanded attention. He was two or three inches over six feet in height.[17] He was of a lanky build, but straight and strong, with the carriage and movement of a military man. Later in life he was handicapped by lameness caused by "White Swelling."[18] His face was expressive and intellectual. His keen blue eyes would flash as he warmed to his subject. His portrait, doubtless touched up, is not unlike Stuart's Thomas Jefferson. His dignified, but kindly attitude, "his sweet, musical, and powerful voice, his wonderful earnestness, vivid delineations, his solemn and sometimes awful appeals so absorbed the attention and impressed the mind and heart, that the hearer became unconscious of the lapse of time." A story is told of a man who was in haste to reach his home after a business trip to Columbia, but on hearing that Dr. Blackburn was then preaching at the court-house, he decided to stop a moment and hear him. Upon reaching the court-house, he found it crowded with people and, being unable to enter, he leaned against the door post to listen for a minute before continuing his journey. An hour later, at the end of the sermon, he stretched his body, stiff from an hour of occupying the same position, and remembered that he had intended to stay only a moment.[19] But this is anticipating; by our story it is not yet 1800 and Gideon Blackburn has been a minister less than eight years.

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[14] Alexander, *op. cit.*, 89.
[15] *Ibid.*, 88.
[16] *Ibid.*, 89.
[17] A. Nevin, *Encyclopedia of the Presbyterian Church* (Phila., 1884), 75.
[18] McTeer, *op. cit.*, 39.
[19] Alexander, *op. cit.*, 89.

II

In 1794 Gideon Blackburn was ordained by the Abingdon Presbytery, the frontier battleground between Old and New School Presbyterianism. Did Christ die for all or only for the elect, was the absorbing question. In comparison, the great hullabaloo over Modernism versus Fundamentalism of recent date was a drop in the bucket. Two years after Blackburn became a member of the presbytery, a question concerning some article of faith arose and the conservative members walked out. Blackburn remained, seemingly unexcited about the matter. One year later (1797) Union Presbytery was organized, consisting of the liberals who refused to walk out of the Abingdon organizaion. The division was made partly for convenience and partly on doctrinal grounds; but both presbyteries carried on in dissension, suspending or dismissing a member occasionally. Amid this strife, other denominations found a fertile field in eastern Tennessee.[20]

Reverend Blackburn was a New School Presbyterian, even going so far as to sanction "the Jerks." On one occasion he wrote: "I have not only heard of it and seen it, but have felt it and am persuaded that it is only to be effected by the immediate finger of God."[21] One must not get the idea that he was not orthodox in so far as the teaching of his own presbytery was concerned, for when Samuel Carrick was "out-argued on a point of faith," by one of his bright theological students, named Isaac Anderson, the student was turned over to the more able theologian Reverend Blackburn. After the student had visited in his home for an afternoon and evening, where he was asked many sharp questions and left to think out his own answers, he saw the light.[22] Having seen the light, he held on to it, for he was the sort of man who refused to trade horses with a good Quaker of Maryville because the latter refused to take ten dollars "to boot."[23]

While Dr. Carrick was teaching his theological students and while the two presbyteries were carrying on their disputes, Gideon Blackburn was busy. He was the pastor of two churches ten miles apart. He preached at several different forts and communities, where churches were later organized. He cultivated his farm, and marched with the soldiers. He explained his military activities by writing:[24]

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[20] James Phelan, *History of Tennessee* (Boston, 1888), 220-21.
[21] Nevin, *op. cit.*, 75.
[22] John J. Robinson, *Reverend Isaac Anderson* (Knoxville, 1860), 36-39.
[23] McTeer, *op. cit.*, 44.
[24] Blackburn to Morse, June, 1807, in *Panoplist,* III, 39.

> I settled in that part of the state called Blount County, when the Cherokees were engaged in a bloody and destructive war with our frontiers. As this circumstance frequently called out the youth of my charge in defense of their country and exposed them to the vices attached to military life, I chose at some times to go with them on their expeditions and thereby, was led into the causes of the savage and wretched state of those Indians.

Gideon Blackburn differed from most of the frontiersmen, including preachers of his day, in that he saw and regretted the misery and wretchedness of the unfortunate Indians. While the relations between the Indians and whites were such that Gideon Blackburn had to preach with his riflle standing within arm's reach, he was formulating plans for the carrying of a message of hope instead of one of death to the red man. In 1799 he suggested that Union Presbytery undertake mission work among the Cherokee. He also planned a missionary society for Blount county, but was forced to abandon the enterprise, as he explained, "because of the scarcity of money and the poverty of the people."[25] But the poverty of Blount county, and the "embarrassing difficulties" within Union Presbytery, did not dampen the spirit of Blackburn. He began to draw up outlines of a plan with the hope of presenting it to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church at some future date.

In 1800 the General Assembly appointed a committee on foreign missions. Two years later this committee called for foreign missionaries (Indian missions were for some time called foreign missions) to the Cherokee; but there was no response.[26] In the following year, Gideon Blackburn, the thirty-one year old frontier preacher, was sent as a delegate to the General Assembly from Union Presbytery. His hope was that he might find some way of bringing his plan for an Indian mission before the committee on missions. In his pocket were outlines of an educational plan for Indian children. This plan he presented to the members of the committee. They, remembering their call the previous year, requested the planner to become the doer and to put into execution what he had well planned. Two hundred dollars were donated by the General Assembly to carry out the plan and to pay Blackburn for two months service as a foreign missionary.[27] Thus, the first missionary of the General

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[25] Samuel T. Wilson, "The Synod of Tennessee and Foreign Missions", in *Minutes of the Synod of Tennessee* (October, 1928), 73-76.
[26] *Ibid.*
[27] Blackburn to Morse, *loc. cit.*, 40.

Assembly of the Presbyterian Church was sent on his way rejoicing.[28]

III

Gideon Blackburn had his commission and two hundred dollars, but more than these, he had a heart filled with enthusiasm for the new work. With his commission from the church tucked in his pocket with his school plans, he journeyed to Washington to meet President Jefferson who was not enthusiastic about missionary work, but was kind-hearted, sympathetic, and broad-minded. Here he received not only the approbation of the president but letters of recommendation from the secretary of war and instructions for the Indian agent, Colonel Return J. Meigs, to help him get his work under way.[29] On his return trip to Tennessee he "collected four hundred thirty dollars and some books" with which to begin his school.

He reached home in July, 1803, and began writing letters and holding interviews with the Indian councils. In his letters, or, as the Indians called them, "talks", Blackburn stated the advantages of a school among the Cherokee. He took great care, however, to promise nothing which he could not fulfill, for, as he explained, a "single failure would have destroyed my credit and ruined the design." In the fall of 1803 some two thousand Indians of the Cherokee nation came together to receive their annuities. Before this group Blackburn laid his plans and stated the conditions necessary to put them into execution. After two days of deliberation the Indians gave their approval and promised to send their children to the school. They agreed that the school should be located on the Hiwassee river near the present town of Charleston, Tennessee, because the Indians of that locality were "most unlikely to be civilized." A house for the teacher which also served as a dormitory for the girls was constructed. The teacher selected was described by Blackburn as being a "man of prudence, good sense, and piety; with a heart fully set on the work. His family was conviently small consisting of a wife and one child." A school house was constructed in such a way as to serve for class room, dining hall, and sleeping quarters for the boys.

The school opened in the spring of 1804 with twenty-one Indian children in attendance, all of whom gave "flattering evidences of

[28] Wilson, *loc. cit.*, 73-76.

[29] Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions* (N. Y., 1842), 68.

promising geniuses." One of the first difficulties to arise was that of keeping the children at the school. Blackburn solved this problem by getting the chiefs to agree that any child returning home would forfeit the clothes which the school had given him. If a chief failed to send the clothes back to the school an amount equal to their value might be deducted from the chief's next annuity and used for the benefit of the school. In the school strict discipline was maintained without difficulty. The curriculum consisted of the "Shorter Catechism. . . together with other short questions of similar nature," songs, reading simple passages, cipering, and "spelling off the book." At the opening and closing of school each day a song was sung, a portion of the Scripture read, and a prayer offered. Public oral examinations were held frequently; a grand prize was given to the pupil who had made the greatest progress since the last examination and small prizes were given to all others according to merit.

Many adult Indians attended the school about as regularly as the children. The teacher took advantage of this situation and tried to teach the children many things which he wanted their parents to know. As soon as an Indian child was capable, he would be used as an interpreter. The children would be seated on the floor in a semi-circle, with the parents on the outer edge. A sentence or a question would be given to the interpreter, who in turn would give it to his fellow pupils and incidentally to the parents present. This process would continue for a few minutes; then all would join in "one of those songs of Zion." Blackburn thought the singing was very effective for he said:

> I will not say music can *transform,* but sure I am, it has a remarkable tendency to *soften,* the savage mind. I have seen it so impressive that old warriors (who are remarkably averse to feelings) have sprung on their feet in time of a song, clapt their hands on their breasts, and in the Cherokee language exclaimed, "my heart sing too."

The teacher and his wife not only taught the three R's but how to keep clean, what and when to eat, how to play, and how to dress. Food was supplied by Blackburn and prepared for the table by the master's wife. The clothing of the pupils consisted mostly "of striped cotton or plain linen, manufactured in Tennessee, and made up by the master's wife, as each scholar stood in need."

In the fall of 1804 the school was almost wrecked because of a shortage of blankets. No beds were used, but blankets were an

absolute necessity. Blackburn got permission from Colonel Meigs, the Indian agent, to enroll his pupils as adult Indians and by this subterfuge he drew twenty-six blankets from the government and saved his school.[30]

In July 1805, General Smith and Colonel Meigs, commissioners of the United States, and Governor Sevier, commissioner for the State of Tennessee, with three or four hundred other white people, met the principal chiefs of the nation and many common people for the purpose of making a treaty. The meeting place was on the Hiwassee river, twelve miles below Blackburn's school. An interesting part of the treaty-making program was that taken by Blackburn, his teacher, and his entire group of "scholars." Of this Blackburn wrote:[31]

> There I attended with my school..Our passage to the place was indeed romantic. Figure to yourself 25 little savages of the forest, all seated in a large canoe, the teacher at one end, and myself at the other, steering our course down the stream, a distance by water of nearly 20 miles. To see the little creatures sitting neatly dressed in homespun cotton, presented them by the females of my white congregation, their hearts beating with the anticipation of their expected examination, frequently reviewing their lessons in order to be ready; then joining in anthems of praise to the Redeemer, making the adjoining hills and groves resound with the adored name of Jesus—what heart could have remained unmoved!
>
> On the 4th of July we arrived at the place of treaty...the school was introduced, marching in procession between the open-ranks of white and red spectators. Each scholar read such a portion, as was requested. The different classes then spelled a number of words without the book. Specimens of their writing and cyphering were shown, and the exhibition closed by the children singing, with a clear and distinct voice, a hymn or two, committed to memory. The scene was very impressive. Few of the spectators were unmoved, and many shed tears plentifully. The Governor, a hardy veteran who had often braved the dangers of war in the same forest, said to me, "I have often stood unmoved amidst showers of bullets from the Indian rifles; but this effectually unmans me. I see civilization taking

[30] The information in the last few paragraphs is found in a letter from Blackburn to Morse, November 10, 1807. *Ibid.*

[31] *Ibid.*, 417.

the ground of barbarism, and the praises of Jesus succeeding to the war whoop of the savage." All this time the tears were stealing down his manly cheek.

After this exhibition of his ability to teach savage children, Blackburn was requested to establish a second school in the lower part of the nation. He hesitated because he had no instructions from the committee on missions and no money with which to carry on the work. "My own private property was insufficient to bear the whole cost," he wrote. But seeing the need he determined to extend his work; and on August 26, 1805, his second school was opened with "from twenty to thirty scholars." By this time, he had heard from the committee on missions, only to be told that they could not extend their benevolence to the second school, nor could they spend more than two hundred dollars "as first stipulated" on the Hiwassee school. This second school was established and supported during the first year by Blackburn without aid from anyone. During this time he had been suffering severe pain and had lost the use of one leg. This suffering, he wrote, "wasted my body, depressed my spirits, and broke my constitution." In the spring of 1806 he made a trip through the South in search of health and aid for his Indian schools. He was successful, writing upon his return: "I collected upwards of fifteen hundred dollars, and at the same time was relieved almost miraculously from my bodily afflictions."[32]

The first school established by Blackburn was called Hiwassee; the second, established one year later, in August, 1805, was called Blackburn Mission and was located on Sale creek about three miles from the present Sale Creek church in Hamilton county. In fact, he might be called the founder of the famous Brainerd Mission for which Missionary Ridge was later named. For while he was caring for his Maryville and Eusebia congregations, running his farm, and looking after his two mission schools, Daniel Ross, father of Chief John Ross, secured his co-operation in establishing a little private school for the Ross children and others on Chickamauga creek.[33] Shortly afterward, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions took over the school and established the Chickamauga Mission, the name of which was changed in 1818 to Brainerd Mission. At first, this was a private school, but it was located nearly forty miles from the Sale Creek Mission, thus taking considerable time and effort on the part of Blackburn to help organize,

[32] *Ibid.*, 475-76.
[33] Zella Armstrong, in a letter to the writer, September 25, 1931.

supervise, and recommend the teachers, all of which he did, seemingly without any compensation.

Blackburn carried on his missionary work for seven years, sacrificing his personal welfare, that of his family, and his good health. The necessary money he raised as best he could, contributing all he could possibly spare himself. In addition to his trip through the South, already mentioned, he traveled through the North in 1807, and in seven months time collected between five and ten thousand dollars, many books, and much clothing. While on this trip, Gideon Blackburn scattered abroad the missionary spirit. On July 1, 1807, he preached to more than three thousand people in the tabernacle at Salem, Massachusetts. Members of the congregation who remembered George Whitefield compared Blackburn's voice and eloquence with Whitefield's and concluded that they were all but equal. Dr. Samuel M. Worcester wrote: "Blackburn produced a sensation which was beyond anything that was ever known in that community."[34] In the same year he was honored by being invited to preach a missionary sermon before the General Assembly, for which that generous group gave him a rising vote of thanks. People called Gideon Blackburn's work among the Cherokee successful. In 1807 Dr. Isaac Anderson and Joseph Lapsley, a committee representing Union Presbytery, reported:[35]

> We attended at and examined the Highwassee Indian school, and do highly approve of the progress the children have made in every branch of literature they have attempted: reading, writing, cyphering, spelling off the book, and singing spiritual songs. Their progress is really flattering in these different branches and perhaps is not exceeded in any school amongst ourselves. . we highly approve the method of teaching and the order of the school, and the children appear to have as just conceptions of order, and as cheerfully to submit to discipline, as any children. The school contains from 45 to 50 scholars.

More recent writers give Blackburn credit not only for teaching some four or five hundred Indians how to read, write, cipher, spell, and sing hymns, but for developing a civil government among the Cherokee, with a constitution, legislature, and laws suited to their needs. He taught them how to build roads and how to develop their agriculture. Writing of their advance in this respect he noted:[36]

[34] Samuel M. Worcester, *Samuel Worcester* (Boston, 1852), II, 63.
[35] Isaac Anderson and Jos. B. Lapsley to Union Presbytery, January 1, 1807, in *Panoplist*, III, 86.
[36] Alexander, *op. cit.*, 44.

> Population, 12,395 Indians and 341 whites. One hundred and thirteen of the latter had Indian wives. Negro slaves 583. Cattle, 20,000; horses, 6100; hogs, 19,600; sheep, 1037. Thirteen grist mills, 3 saw mills, 3 saltpetre works and one powder mill were in operation. They had 50 wagons, 500 ploughs, 1600 spinning wheels, 467 looms and 49 silversmiths.

Because of continued impaired health, and the growing needs of his family, Blackburn gave up his mission work and resigned the pastorate of the New Providence church in 1810 and went into retirement.

IV

In the autumn of 1810 Blackburn sold as much of his property as he could and moved into Middle Tennessee, locating in Maury county, near Columbia. Here he was supposed to be resting in order to regain his health but, instead, he was preaching three or four times each week at various places in the county. It seems he could not find a suitable location in Maury county, for in the spring of 1811 he moved to Franklin in Williamson county. Here he became principal of Harpeth Academy and preached regularly in four or five places, founding a church in each of these places.[37] When he arrived in Middle Tennessee he found religious activity at a low ebb; but because of his power as a preacher a revival was felt at once and at his first communion service, held in the open near Gallatin, Tennessee, some three thousand persons were present and forty-five members were added to the church.[38] In his first year in the central part of the present State of Tennessee, he organized the Presbytery of West Tennessee, as it was then called. He founded a number of churches, among them the First Presbyterian church of Nashville.[39] This church he organized on November 14, 1814; he was its first pastor and preached to such people as Mrs. Andrew Jackson, Felix Grundy, and Governor Carroll. His three and a half to four hour sermons seemed a bit long to Carroll, but Grundy remarked after a morning service of considerable length that he "could have stood it until twelve that night if Blackburn should have continued until that time."[40] Dr. Blackburn had regained much of his

[37] Nevin, *op. cit.*, 75; Sprague, *op. cit.*, 45.

[38] Elmore, *loc. cit.*, 61.

[39] Armstrong. See Note 33.

[40] E. H. Gillett, *History of the Presbyterian Church* (Philadelphia, 1864), II, 317-33; William E. Beard, *First Presbyterian Church of Nashville* (Nashville, 1915), 47-52.

former strength and again walked with the sprightly step of a military man.

In his youth he had longed to be a soldier; now at the age of forty he was again tempted. Some writers have said that he was Andrew Jackson's chaplain during the Creek War. That is not the case, for he was in charge of two churches and was principal of a school while the war was being fought. He was, however, a soldier long enough to recruit a company of volunteers and lead them to Jackson's camp in Northern Alabama. The army was in a bad predicament because the terms of enlistment were expiring rapidly and the men, refusing to re-enlist, were going home in squads and by companies. Blackburn, in a letter to Jackson, offered his services and was requested to raise a company of volunteers and lead them to camp. This he did in company with William Carroll. On their way into Alabama they met General Coffee's army on its way home. Blackburn preached and urged the men to return and continue to serve their country; however, the army continued on its homeward journey and was never in the field again.[41] Jackson knew Blackburn; he had heard him preach a number of times. On this trip Blackburn showed the spirit of determination which many people called contrariness, or even haughtiness. The young volunteers and their parents had requested that the men not serve under a certain one of Jackson's lieutenants. When they arrived in camp, Jackson forthwith assigned them to that lieutenant. Blackburn objected and a verbal encounter of no mean proportions ensued. It looked as though they would come to blows, but the preacher-soldier had his way, probably because Jackson, even at that early date, respected religion and religious leaders. The two men exchanged civil courtesies and parted friends.[42] While in camp, Blackburn preached to the soldiers, and because of this it has been reported that he was their chaplain.

Blackburn remained in Franklin until 1823, his principal work being that of a teacher. In addition to his work at the academy he tutored candidates for the ministry, taking them into his home and equipping them to go out and care for the churches which he was prone to establish. As a teacher, he was not a finished scholar. He knew little of the science of that day, little Hebrew or Greek, and little of mathematics. He was "strong in logic, rhetoric, mental and moral philosophy." He was a good disciplinarian, sometimes called

[41] John S. Bassett, ed., *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* (Washington, 1927), I, 357, 365: James Parton, *Life of Jackson* (N. Y., 1861), I; 466; 476.
[42] J. W. Hall, in Sprague, *op. cit.*, 49-50.

stern and severe. Religion was the central motive in his problems of discipline as well as in all phases of his life. Aside from his work as a teacher he was engaged with his churches and was one of the moving spirits in the religious revival which swept much of the Southwest about the year 1816. It was during this "awakening" that Rachel Jackson was converted and became a strict, austere, and militant Presbyterian. That religious malady known as "the Jerks" was prominent during these revivals; and just prior to this, Cumberland Presbytery had broken away from the parent church, partly because the General Assembly would not sanction either the licensing of illiterate preachers or exaggerated forms of religious conversion.[43] Rachel was converted by the preaching of Dr. Blackburn and ever afterwards thanked her Maker that she had been called by such a minister. Through her Blackburn became rather intimate with Andrew Jackson; and his influence made Jackson an observer of the Sabbath while he was governor of Florida, much to the dislike of the Spaniards who had paid no attention to such matters prior to the arrival of the Jacksons. Jackson did not join the church until after his presidential administrations; but under the influence of Rachel and Gideon Blackburn, he had thought the matter over and privately professed, promising to join the church as soon as he was no longer a candidate for public office. He always respected those who "wore the cloth" and in particular Gideon Blackburn, whom Rachel called her "father in the Gospel."[44] While Jackson was president, the Reverend J. W. Hall, a friend of Blackburn, called upon him and Jackson's first question was about his "much respected friend, Dr. Blackburn." He was handed a letter from Blackburn, written for the occasion, in which he again urged upon the president the necessity of a public profession.[45] Jackson complied with the request about 1839.

For a number of years Blackburn had been a trustee of two Tennessee colleges, Greeneville and Washington. In 1818 the former conferred on him, in recognition of his great work, the degree of Doctor of Divinity. In 1817 when the Synod of Tennessee was organized, Gideon Blackburn was elected its first clerk. Two years later he was chosen moderator. In 1823, his last year in Tennessee, the Synod was in session near Nashville, at the time Governor Carroll was inaugurated for his second term. The Synod was invited to attend and Blackburn led in prayer after the oath of office was ad-

[43] Gillett, *op. cit.*, 213-242.
[44] Mead Minnigerode, *Some American Ladies,* (N. Y., 1926), 271ff.
[45] Hall, *loc. cit.*, 50.

ministered. To this prayer, "a most decent and solemn attention was paid, not only by the General Assembly, but also by a large, well-behaved crowd of spectators."[46]

During his stay in Middle Tennessee he had grown in prominence, provided for his growing family, and accumulated some property, part of which consisted of negro slaves; but by 1823 his health was again very poor.

V

In 1823 Blackburn was invited to the First church of Louisville, Kentucky, as a supply preacher. After his first or second sermon he was called to assume the pastorate of that church. Here he preached for about four years. The church prospered, the membership increasing from fifty-one to one hundred thirty-three, and the church became wealthy and aristocratic.[47] While working in this vicinity, he came into conflict with the circuit court, when a will drawn by him for one of his most faithful church members was set aside. This member, converted by Blackburn, was wealthy; and he was greatly influenced by his preacher. During his last days, Blackburn wrote his will, by which all of his slaves were set free and provision made for their support and removal to Africa. The remainder of the large estate was given to benevolent work.[48] Partly because of his reputation as a money-raiser and minister, and because he had long been connected with school work as a director of colleges and the principal of an academy, he was called to the presidency of Centre College at Danville, Kentucky, in 1827.[49]

His work at Centre did not attract much attention nor bring him much of an income, for during his second year here, his Maryville property was sold because of non-payment of taxes.[50] The college was small, the total number of graduates during his term as president being only fourteen.[51] During his presidency Blackburn continued his practice of preaching in churches of the vicinity. Another physical handicap appeared during these years—a cancer on his lip. It was removed once but soon reappeared in an aggravated form. It gave him much pain, especially a few years later, and was a great

[46] Alexander, *op. cit.*, 61.
[47] Minutes of the First Church of Louisville; Shackleford Miller, *Sketches of the First Church of Louisville* (Louisville, 1916).
[48] Hall, *loc. cit.*, 46.
[49] Robert Davidson, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky* (N. Y., 1847), 320-21.
[50] *Knoxville Register*, June 18, 1828.
[51] Dr. C. J. Turck, in a letter to the writer, November 27, 1931.

handicap. In 1830 he resigned and moved to Versailles, Kentucky, where he served as pastor and as travelling agent for the Kentucky Temperance Society.[52] Dr. Blackburn was now nearing sixty years of age and seemed restless and discontented. In 1831 he made a trip into Illinois. This was a new country. The Black Hawk War was just getting under way and new prairie land was about to be opened to the insatiable appetite of the land hungry. Blackburn came back to Kentucky to move again; and with this last move in mind, he began disposing of his property. Two of his negroes were freed and accompanied him to his new home as hired servants. Some others were emancipated and urged to move to Liberia, but two "very unruly ones" were sold because they were unfit for freedom and could not be taken to Illinois.[53]

Before the good man now in his old age makes this last attempt to find a place to live, let us look at another side of his life. At home, Gideon Blackburn was a stern, serious, and a devoutly religious husband and father. He concerned himself, not only with the moral welfare of his immediate family, but with that of his servants and students who might be living or studying with him. All had to read the Bible a great deal, to pray and take active part in the religious life of the community. It was his custom when at home on Sunday to call all members of the household into the parlor and there question them on what they had read during the day or the past week. He, acting as teacher, would explain and exhort.[54] Aside from his home life, where he was respected, revered, and dearly loved, he had a nation-wide circle of friends and some enemies. He was not one to mince words, nor one who failed to speak the truth as he saw it. He was earnest, narrow, and uncompromising. Necessarily, such a man made enemies, but Blackburn's were comparatively few and he had the happy faculty of not being worried by them. He was widely read and a considerable collector of books. At his death nearly a thousand volumes from his library were sold for auction.[55]

In October, 1833, Dr. Blackburn with his family and some neighbors, moved into Macoupin county, Illinois. Here he entered 560 acres of land; and in June, 1834, he organized "Spring Grove Presbyterian Church," of which, of course, he was the pastor. By this time he had a second son in the ministry, Samuel E. Blackburn, who

52 Alexander, *op. cit.*, 88.
53 Hall, *loc. cit.*
54 *Ibid.*
55 Rinaker, *loc. cit.*

needed a church. Shortly after the organization of Spring Cove church, a second was organized at Carlinville, with Samuel E. Blackburn as pastor. In 1835 Dr. Blackburn became trustee and financial agent of Illinois College. In this capacity he made one trip through the East in an effort to raise money. There he found the people more anxious to engage in the riotous land speculations of the period than to make outright gifts to an unknown college. Blackburn conceived a plan whereby these wealthy Easterners might apease their desire to speculate and at the same time serve the cause of education—not, however, to help Illinois College, but an institution which he would establish on non-sectarian lines after he had secured sufficient funds. His plan was to "enter and locate lands for capitalists upon a percentage basis." Land was offered at one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre. Dr. Blackburn would select and enter the land in the name of those interested, for two dollars per acre. The seventy-five cents above the purchase price would be divided—twenty-five to Dr. Blackburn as commission, and the remaining fifty cents to purchase land with which a college would be endowed. His rather elaborate plan has been called a failure, but by it he entered more than 64,000 acres.[56] The land bought or entered with the commission money amounted to more than 16,000 acres. In May, 1837, he made a deed of trust to seven men who were charged with the "duty of procuring the incorporation of the institution."[57]

Dr. Blackburn did not live to see the fruits of his last labor materialize. During the winter of 1837-38 he fell on the ice and broke his hip. This rendered him bedfast until August 23, 1838, when this man, the "best backwoods orator," personal friend of a great president, Indian fighter and Indian missionary, servant of the aristocratic church of Louisville, organizer of schools, teacher of theology, temperance lecturer, and college president, died at his home in Carlinville, Illinois, aged just four days short of sixty-six years.[57]

Nearly twenty years later and after considerable litigation, with Abraham Lincoln as an opposing attorney in one case, Blackburn University was founded at Carlinville.[58] Afterwards, the name was changed to Blackburn College. At present, this memorial to the great man is one of the leading junior colleges under the control of the Presbyterian Church.

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[56] *Ibid.*
[57] *Ibid.*
[58] *Ibid.*

TENNESSEE'S FOUR CAPITALS*

By Robert H. White

Whether the proposition that "possession is nine points in law" be basically sound or unsound, certainly considerable importance has been attached thereto. By proclamation[1] of Governor William Blount, the assembly representing the Territory South of the River Ohio convened at Knoxville, on the fourth Monday in February, 1794. Unquestionably, the distribution of population was a consideration in the selection of Knoxville as the meeting place of the territorial assembly, as Washington District contained at that time more than four times as many inhabitants as did the District of Mero.[2] However weighty this factor appeared to the mind of Governor Blount, it was Knoxville, at any rate, that he selected as the convening point of the legislature.

In the draft of the Constitution of 1796, it was provided that the first General Assembly of the new state should be held in Knoxville, "and may adjourn to such place as they may think proper, until the situation of this State will permit the fixing a permanent seat of government, which shall be established as nearly central as convenience will admit."[3] Had this proposal been adopted, the seat of government, subject to legislative whim, would have been from the outset of a nomadic nature. There were, however, four members of that Constitutional Convention who were certain that they were dissatisfied with uncertainty. Accordingly, on February 3, John Adair moved that the first section of the tenth article be struck out for the purpose of inserting in lieu thereof the following: "Knoxville shall be the seat of government until the year one thousand eight hundred and four," which proposal, according to the record, "was agreed to."[4] The next move was that of Andrew Jackson, who proposed that the word "four" be struck out and the word "two" inserted in its place. This motion prevailed,[5] whereby Knoxville, by Tennessee's first con-

* This paper was read at a meeting of the Society in Knoxville, February 3, 1933.

[1] J. G. M. Ramsey, *The Annals of Tennessee* (Charleston, 1853), p. 621.

[2] *Ibid.*, 544-5.

[3] *Journal of the Proceedings of a Convention Began and Held at Knoxville, January* 11, 1796, p. 19.

[4] *Ibid.*, 24.

[5] *Ibid.*

stitution, was designated as the seat of government from 1796 to 1802.

For four years following 1802, the seat of government continued to rest at Knoxville through the passage of legislative resolutions at the several sessions of the General Assembly.[6] By 1805, however, a definite departure from the previous policy of fixing the seat of government by legislative resolution was attempted. A formal bill was introduced in the legislature on September 20 of that year.[7] It proposed "that if the inhabitants of Knox County at their own expense furnish a Commodious and Comfortable place for the Reception of the General Assembly when in Session then and in that case the Assembly of this State are to Convene in the Town of Knoxville for the purpose of doing all Legislative Acts for the Term of fifteen years."[8] A Senate amendment of September 26 provided that the termination of the period of Knoxville's being the seat of government should be 1815, or five years less than the length of time set forth in the original bill. On November 1, however, a resolution "that Knoxville be and remain the seat of government until the end of the next general assembly"[9] passed both branches of the legislature. This disposed of the question of the seat of government for the time being. The bill which proposed to make Knoxville the capital until 1815 was definitely tabled on November 2.[10] Therefore, Knoxville remained as Tennessee's seat of government by legislative resolution.[11]

Nevertheless, but a few months had elapsed when the proponents of a new location for the State government were able to push through the legislature a resolution providing that the next General Assembly should meet "at the town of Kingston near South-West Point."[12] A complementary resolution named three commissioners, who were instructed to make the necessary arrangements for legislative accom-

[6] See, *e. g.*, *House Journal*, 1801, p. 138.

[7] *Senate Journal*, 1805, p. 107.

[8] Ms. Rejected Bills, State Archives, 1805. The State Archives are in Nashville, Tennessee.

[9] *House Journal*, 1805, p. 102.

[10] *Ibid.*, 107.

[11] Unfortunately, two legislative documents of 1805, relating to the question of the State capital's location, appear to have been lost. One had to do with the report of the committee "who had under consideration the letter of Thomas N. Clark, relative to the Seat of Government, was taken up and read. Whereupon, resolved, that this house do not concur therewith" (*Senate Journal*, 1805, p. 136). Owing to the apparent loss of this communication, posterity will doubtless never know just what Mr. Clark's proposition was. The other lost document was the report of a Senate committee relative to the determination of the seat of government. This report, of an unknown nature, the House read and rejected (*House Journal*, 1805, p. 102).

[12] *Senate Journal*, 1806, p. 96. The resolution was passed by the House September 11 and by the Senate September 13, 1806.

modation in Kingston.[13] One of these three was a Jacob Jones, who prevailed upon his fellow commissioners to leave to him alone the task of providing the requisite facilities. In his bill asking payment for these services commissioner Jones stated that he had furnished nine tables, ten benches, three steps for each speaker, and one window containing, as he expressed it, "15 lights". His bill was for the ultra-definite sum of $72.08⅓, which the legislative committee on claims promptly reduced to $55.50.[14]

Thus it came to pass that on Monday, September 21, 1807, the next General Assembly was called to order not in Knoxville, but in Kingston. The latter thereby became the second capital of Tennessee. Immediately after the legislature's organization, however, it was resolved to "adjourn forthwith from Kingston to meet on Wednesday, the 23rd instant, at eleven a. m., at the Courthouse in Knoxville."[15] Only one other resolution was passed, this to the effect that all the public papers were to be reconveyed from Kingston to Knoxville as soon as possible.[16] Aside from the organization of the legislature and the passage of the two resolutions just referred to, no legislative activity took place during the meeting at Kingston. In all probability, the General Assembly was actually in session in Kingston less than two hours. If this conjectural statement be true, Kingston was, in fact, the seat of government for only that period of time. At most, Kingston could not have been the capital of Tennessee for more than one day, namely, Monday, September 21, 1807.

To many students of Tennessee history, it has been a matter for interesting speculation as to why Kingston in 1807 was selected as the State capital. Documentary evidence on this point is meager, but enough has been located to convince the unprejudiced that it was simply another species of chicanery which the pale-faced pioneers practiced upon their red-skinned neighbors. At Tellico, on October 25 and October 27, 1805, two treaties were negotiated between the United States and the Cherokee Indians. These treaties reveal the real purpose for the removal of the seat of government from Knoxville to Kingston. Article 11 of the earlier treaty concludes:

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[13] *Ibid.*, 104-5.

[14] Petitions, State Archives, 1807.

[15] *Senate Journal*, 1807, p. 5.

[16] Since there is evidence to indicate that these public papers were hauled in a wagon from Knoxville to Kingston and return, it is quite probable that a number were lost in transit. This statement is made in view of the fact that numerous legislative documents from 1796 to 1807 are missing in the State Archives.

Upon the reconvening of the legislature in Knoxville on September 23, 1807, Governor John Sevier in his executive message made no reference to the removal of the seat of government from Kingston to Knoxville.

> And whereas from the present Session made by the Cherokees, and other circumstances, the site of the garrisons at South-West Point and Tellico, are become not the most convenient and suitable places for the accommodation of the said Indians, it may become expedient to remove the said garrisons and factory to some more suitable place; three other square miles are reserved for the particular disposal of the United States on the north bank of the Tennessee, opposite to and below the mouth of the Hiwassee.[17]

Article 1 of the later treaty reads:

> Whereas it has been represented by the one party to the other, that the cession of land on which the garrison of South-West Point stands, and which extends to Kingston, is likely to be a desirable place for the Assembly of the State of Tennessee to convene at, (a committee from that body now in session, having viewed the situation) now, the Cherokees being possessed of a spirit of conciliation, and seeing that this tract is desired for public purposes, and not for individual advantages, reserving the ferries to themselves, quit claim, and cede to the United States the said section of land, understanding at the same time, that the buildings erected by the public are to belong to the public as well as the occupation of the same, during the pleasure of the Government.[18]

The language of the treaties themselves, then, shows conclusively that the whites in 1805, almost two years before the removal of the capital from Knoxville to Kingston was actually consummated, were negotiating with the Indians for the purpose of getting possession of the section of land on which the garrison was situated.

A few previous writers have pointed out the perfidy of the whites in obtaining the Kingston lands under false pretenses. A half century ago an investigator for the Bureau of Ethnology alleged that in reality two treaties were concluded on October 27, 1805, one being a secret agreement with Doublehead, Cherokee chieftain, which represented an attempt to bribe him to use his influence for the furtherance of the efforts of the white men to obtain the desired cession of land. This secret agreement was not submitted to the United States

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[17] John Haywood and Robert L. Cobbs, compilers, *The Statute Laws of the State of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1831), II, 205.

[18] *Ibid.*, 206.

Senate, but was recorded in the Department of War at Washington. In continuing, this investigator observed that

> The cession by the Treaty of October 27, 1805, of the section of land at South-West point was secured upon the theory that the State of Tennessee would find Kingston a convenient and desirable place for the establishment of the State Capitol. . . . To secure the consent of some of the leading chiefs, the Treaty Commissioners resorted to the disgraceful precedent of secret articles, by which several valuable small tracts were reserved for Doublehead and Tallantuskee.[19]

A recent historian of the Cherokee Indians has bluntly stated that

> Three plats of land, each a mile square were set aside by the provisions of Article 11 of the Treaty of Tellico of October 25th, 1805, ostensibly for Government purposes, but in reality, as shown by a second Article of the Treaty, for Doublehead and Tahlonteeskee as a bribe for their support in making the treaty.[20]

The historian of the county in which Kingston is located likewise has possessed sufficient perspicacity to discern the imposition there practiced upon the redskins by the white negotiators. Her account of the subject follows:

> In a Treaty made with the Indians, they [United States Commissioners Return J. Meigs and Daniel Smith] had reserved a square mile in the fork of the rivers. Kingston had been laid out, houses were being erected around the reservation and there were hopes that the capital of the State would be erected here. The whites wanted the mile square reservation. The Indians agreed to the sale, but had the cause therefor stated in the deed. The Commissioners said that they had no right to contract that the capital should be built here, but assured the Indian Chief Tallentuskie that the legislature should be convened there. It was for this reason that the legislature met here, but adjourned next day to Knoxville, alleging it was for the want of a suitable hall and room. This was not the truth for the Courthouse was finished the year before. The truth is, it was merely a trick

19 Charles C. Royce, "The Cherokee Nation of Indians," in Fifth Annual *Report* of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1883-84 (Washington, 1887), p. 191.

20 Emmett Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians* (Oklahoma City, 1921), p. 40.

played upon the Indians in order to negotiate the purchase of the reservation.[21]

Whether the courthouse at Kingston was available in 1807 as alleged by this author, may or may not be important. The fact is, however, that the legislature met in a building in Kingston occupied in part at the time by one J. L. Gordon. To the General Assembly this occupant presented his statement of account, dated November 1, 1807, for having made certain changes in the building for its occupancy by the legislature. Specifically, his statement itemized two partitions, plank and nails, the making of two extra windows, and the inserting of glass therein at a total expense of $39.20. Furthermore, he requested an additional allowance of $20.00 "for putting my things out and clearing the house, agreeable to the instructions of the Commissioners." This bill of approximately $60 was reduced by a legislative committee to $15, which in the committee's opinion was "Reasonable."[22]

Among those factors involved in the selection of Kingston as Tennessee's seat of government, at least two were of material influence. First, there was a desire on the part of the pioneers to obtain possession of the land on which the garrison and blockhouse were located. These defenses would prove perhaps invaluable to the whites in the event of Indian hostilities, Secondly, and unquestionably, the settlers who were planting homes near the reservation firmly believed that the establishment of the seat of government at Kingston would prove of economic advantage to them, through the consequent commercial expansion and the accompanying upward swing in the values of adjacent lands.

Following the Kingston interlude of 1807, the State capital for five years remained at Knoxville. Its legislative protagonists sought to carry legislation whereby the seat of government should continue unchanged. By 1811, however, the cause of Middle Tennessee was so well represented in the legislature that a measure was passed providing that the General Assembly should next convene in Nashville.[23]

Therefore, on September 7, 1812, the official representatives of the voters of Tennessee were called to order in Nashville. Scarcely had organization been completed when resolutions were offered for another

[21] Emma Middleton Wells, *History of Roane County* (Chattanooga, c. 1927), p. 10.

[22] MS. Petitions, State Archives, 1807.

[23] *House Journal,* 1811, p. 281; *Senate Journal,* 1811, p. 214. Three East Tennessee Senators afforded the sole opposition to the measure in the upper house. In the lower house an unsuccessful attempt was made to substitute Carthage for Nashville.

removal of the capital, one bill naming Kingston, and another Knoxville, as the next seat of government.[24] These resolutions, however, failed to pass and Nashville continued to enjoy capital honors through the legislative session of 1815. At that time Knoxville was once more selected as the seat of government. Then in 1817, a resolution was introduced in the legislature providing for the removal of the seat of government to Murfreesboro. The future was to reveal that, with the adoption of this resolution, seemingly without particularly vigorous opposition, Knoxville's career as a capital of Tennessee was completely closed.

In 1821 an effort was made to entrench Murfreesboro as the seat of government by the introduction into the legislature of a measure providing that lands could be donated to the State for a suitable site for the capital, on condition that Rutherford county, in which Murfreesboro was located, furnish $10,000 for the erection of public buildings. When acted upon by the lower house, however, this proposal was overwhelmingly defeated.[25] On the other hand, those who sought to wrest the capital from Murfreesboro fared, at least at first, no better. In 1822 Felix Grundy fathered a resolution which would have brought about a transfer of the seat of government because, so the resolution affirmed, the General Assembly could use Nashville's Masonic Hall gratis.[26] Although it won fairly strong support, the Grundy measure went down to defeat. Then, just three years later, there was introduced into the House of Representatives a resolution couched in almost the identical language of that of 1822. It contained, however, an additional argument, namely, that inasmuch as Nashville was the site of the Bank of the State of Tennessee, the legislative supervision and examination of that institution would be less difficult and more economical if the capital of the State were located there also. Certain groups sought the re-location of the seat of government at other places as well, but the advocates of the above-mentioned resolution secured sufficient support to cause the legislature to name Nashville as the next capital of Tennessee.[27]

With the removal of the seat of government from Murfreesboro to Nashville in October 1826, the capital question entered upon a brief period of quiescence. It hardly more than raised its head until the approach of the elections for members of the Constitutional Con-

[24] *Senate Journal*, 1812, pp. 127, 130.
[25] *House Journal*, 1821, p. 385. The vote was 27 to 7.
[26] *House Journal*, 1822, p. 165.
[27] *Senate Journal*, 1825, pp. 448-451.

vention of 1834. Then, in the case of many candidates for seats, it became a paramount issue.[28]

The Constitutional Convention assembled and ten days elapsed before the attention of the membership was directed to the question of the location of the state government. Attention was so directed as a result of a resolution calling for the permanent location of the capital at Nashville.[29] That same day witnessed the introduction of a counter-resolution which declared it "the proper business of the *Legislature* to fix the seat of government."[30] On May 30, 1834, a proposal was submitted to the effect that the capital "should be established in the center of the chartered or territorial limits of the State, or the nearest eligible situation of the same."[31] Eleven days later an alternative solution of the problem was offered in the form of a resolution providing that "the seat of government be permanently fixed at such point on the Tennessee River, as three commissioners, one from East Tennessee, one from Middle Tennessee and one from the Western District, appointed by law, may designate."[32]

Nearly all the suggestions submitted reveal a tendency, express or implied, toward a central location of the State capital, but doubt arose in the Convention as to just where Tennessee's exact geographical center lay, and so a resolution was passed directing the secretary of state to supply the desired information.[33] Not having this information at his disposal, the secretary, Sam Y. Smith, referred the resolution to James Hamilton, professor of mathematics in the University of Nashville, requesting the latter's assistance. Professor Hamilton complied with the request by submitting a marked copy of Rhea's map of Tennessee, along with his own mathematical solution of the problem. The professor's conclusion was that the geographical center of the State of Tennessee was in Rutherford county, about one mile and a half east of Murfreesboro.[34]

In the maze of the many matters before the Convention, the question of the location of the permanent capital seems to have been lost

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[28] Richard Cheatham of Robertson county, for example, issued a statement through the press that he favored the selection of Nashville as the permanent seat of government (*Nashville Republican and State Gazette*, Feb. 20, 1834).

[29] *Journal of the Constitutional Convention*, 1834 (Nashville, 1834), p. 41. Richard Cheatham fathered this resolution.

[30] *Ibid.*, 45. The italics are the author's.

[31] *Ibid.*, 53. This proposition was sponsored by Newton Cannon of Williamson county.

[32] *Ibid.*, 74. This was submitted by Henry Sharp, who jointly represented Hickman, Lawrence and Wayne counties.

[33] *Ibid.*, 45.

[34] *Ibid.*, 61-62.

sight of until August 26. On that date, however, there was called up the resolution of May 30, which would have provided a central site for the seat of government. Just as soon as this resolution was read, another was offered, whereby the permanent capital should be fixed upon "by the third legislature which shall sit under this Constitution, at its first session."[35] This latter proposal, when voted upon, was approved, 40 to 18. Then, rather strangely, the May 30 resolution was likewise adopted, the vote being 38 to 20.[36]

The capital ghost, however, had not even been temporarily laid. On August 27 it was proposed that the permanent seat of government be selected by the General Assembly during the first week following its convening in 1843.[37] Close in the wake of this proposal came another, favoring Carrollsville. This latter proposal, however, went down in overwhelming defeat.[38] There was then introduced a resolution providing for a permanent capital, with the location left blank. As to just how the blank should be filled became a pulsing issue with the members of the Convention. Two separate efforts were made in behalf of Nashville, but these proved vain.[39] Followed, and failed, successive attempts to name McMinnville, Murfreesboro, Carthage, Middletown and Clarksville. A few delegates sought the revival of resolutions calling for the ascertainment of the State's true geographic center. Inasmuch as supposedly scientific information on this point was already available, such manoeuvers seem but to reflect an obstructionist tendency; whatever their motivation, defeat descended upon them.[40] In this wise the struggle continued,[41] until at length the Convention undertook the re-consideration of that proposal, originally submitted the preceding August 20, whereby the location of the permanent capital should be determined during the first week of the 1843 General Assembly. Such re-consideration eventuated in the passage of this proposal, but only by the minute majority of 32 to 26.[42]

Although the Constitutional Convention of 1834 had definitely delegated to a future General Assembly the responsibility of selecting Tennessee's ultimate seat of government, there remained for the former's determination the hardly less vexing question of the capital's loca-

35 *Ibid.*, 355.
36 *Ibid.*
37 *Ibid.*, 363.
38 *Ibid.*
39 *Ibid.*, 364.
40 *Ibid.*, 364-366.
41 *Ibid.*, 367-368.
42 *Ibid.*, 368.

tion during the next nine years. To a consideration of this problem the convention immediately passed. In rapid succession Franklin, Nashville, Murfreesboro, and Columbia were suggested as the interim site. Spirited voting ensued, the results of which elicited a new proposal, namely, "that the first session of the Legislature under this Constitution shall be held in the City of Nashville." This passed by the narrow margin of 32 to 27.[43] The next day the advocates of Nashville amassed sufficient strength to push through, by 32 to 25, a proposition that not only the first, but likewise the second, session of the legislature should convene there.[44] No greater concession than this could the Nashville group obtain; nor, for that matter, were the supporters of any other site able to gain nearly so much. The Convention of 1834 adjourned, therefore, after having determined, among other things, that the first two sessions of the legislature under the new constitution should meet in Nashville and that during the first week of the 1843 General Assembly that body should select a site for a permanent capital.[45]

Not until 1839 did the capital question again come to life. In the summer of that year, however,—perhaps because of awareness of plans aiming at a removal of the seat of government—Nashville newspapers sought to stir the citizenry as to the necessity of retaining the capital. The *Whig*, for example, commented editorially:

> Take away the Legislature and you destroy the political importance of the city and even diminish its commercial greatness. By this means you are deprived of a material portion of your profits. The tavern-keeper is broken up, and the market house degenerated to a petty mart for the vending of "sweet cider and dried apples!".[46]

It is difficult, if not impossible, to estimate the effect of such agitation.

When the General Assembly convened in Nashville on October 7, 1839, it completed its organization, turned to the consideration of routine items of business, and month succeeded month until it appeared that Nashville's fears over losing the capital were entirely groundless. Then, suddenly, during the course of the evening session on January 28, 1840, there was introduced in the lower house a

[43] *Ibid.*, 369-370.
[44] *Ibid.*, 374.
[45] *Ibid.*, 406. "Permanent," that is, unless changed "by the consent of two-thirds of the Members of both Houses of the General Assembly." Obviously, such would be extremely unlikely.
[46] *Nashville Whig*, July 31, 1839.

proposal that the legislature should take advantage of the offer of the Cumberland Presbyterian church of McMinnville to meet therein without cost to the State. The House of Representatives, however, failed to take action.[47]

On the same day the Senate was confronted with the removal question. A resolution was introduced providing that the seat of government be changed to blank location. Then came forward protagonists of McMinnville, but their strength proved too slight. The same was true of Columbia's supporters. The advocates of Murfreesboro, however, following an initial defeat, were able, by a single vote, to write the name of the community they were so ardently championing into the space left blank in the original resolution. Thus changed, the proposal passed the Senate by the same margin.[48] Party lines had been strictly drawn, as Democratic and Whig phalanxes had each presented a solid front against the enemy.[49]

On the following day, January 29th, 1840, the Senate resolution, providing that Tennessee's capital be removed to Murfreesboro, came to the House for consideration. Opposition at once raised its head. A variety of proposed amendments culminated in an attempt to strike out Murfreesboro and insert Sparta. When the vote was taken, the representatives were found to be evenly divided, and it was only by this hair's breadth that the Spartan contingent failed to attain its first objective.[50] Without the slightest delay the speaker signed the resolution, in the original form in which it had come to the House, and transmitted it to the Senate. If a contemporary newspaper account of the proceedings is to be believed, within half an hour after the House had accepted the Senate proposal, the resolution had been engrossed and signed by the presiding officers of both houses.[51]

Unquestionably, the plan to shift the seat of government to Murfreesboro had been transformed into law with reckless speed. That the opposition would remain quiet was unlikely. In fact, scarcely had the Murfreesboro measure been rushed through the lower house, when a resolution was introduced to rescind it. This latter, however, was tabled. Even so, the anti-Mufreesboro faction was unwilling to admit defeat, and two days later, by a majority of one, obtained

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[47] *House Journal*, 1839, p. 618.

[48] MS. Senate Journal, 1839-40, Legislative Day, January 28, 1840. Two members of the Senate were not recorded as voting.

[49] *Republican Banner*, February 5, 1840. Senator Smith of Maury county alone stepped outside party lines.

[50] *House Journal*, 1839, pp. 631-633.

[51] *Republican Banner*, February 5, 1840.

the passage of the desired rescinding resolution.[52] Several towns were then suggested as temporary seats of government, but no one of these was able to win the requisite number of votes.

Meanwhile, the Senate refused to concur in the House's rescinding of the original resolution of January 29, providing for the transfer of the capital to Murfreesboro.[53] It did, however, pass a resolution supplementary to that of January 29, whereby the governor and certain other State officials need not remove their offices from Nashville to Murfreesboro until September, 1841, that is, until just one month before the next General Assembly was scheduled to convene.[54] The Senate vote was along strictly party lines, and, according to one press account, the action was inspired by the Democratic governor, James K. Polk, who was willing that the legislature meet in Murfreesboro, so long as such entailed no change in the location of his own office.[55] The supplementary resolution was then sent by the upper to the lower house with a message, which was reported to have "insisted" upon concurrence by the latter.[56] This dictatorial message the speaker of the House of Representatives regarded as "unparliamentary" and "out of order," so that he permitted no action to be taken upon it.[57]

Apparently, the net result of all the parliamentary manoeuvering described above, was to leave in effect that resolution of January 29 which had passed both houses and which provided for the seat of government's removal to Murfreesboro. And yet, on February 1, had occurred an additional manoeuver whereby Murfreesboro was deprived of the distinction of becoming for a second time the capital of Tennessee. To the general appropriation bill the Senate had attached an amendment providing the sum of one hundred dollars for removal expenses. The lower house, however, had voted to strike out this amendment and to insert in lieu thereof another designating Nashville as "the Seat of Government until otherwise directed by law."[58] When on February 1, 1840, the legislature had passed the general appropriation bill, the final form of the latter had included the House's sub-

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[52] *House Journal,* 1839, p. 648.

[53] *Ibid.,* 652.

[54] MS. Senate Journal, Legislative Day, January 29, 1840.

[55] *Nashville Whig,* March 17, 1841. The *Whig's* interpretation of Governor Polk's motive was that "his Excellency fondly hoped to be ensconced in the Vice-Presidential mansion in Washington before such removal could take place."

[56] *Republican Banner,* March 20, 1840.

[57] *Ibid.*

[58] *House Journal,* 1839-40, p. 659.

stitute amendment.[59] Thus Nashville remained Tennessee's temporary capital.

The Constitution of 1834 very definitely obligated the General Assembly, during the first week of the 1843 session, to decide upon a permanent location for the seat of government. Nor did that body seem at all reluctant to undertake the execution of this task. The very day that the legislature convened the capital struggle opened in the upper house.[60] Senate Bill Number 1 was for the location of the seat of government, the place left blank. This passed first reading.[61] Thereupon a measure was introduced providing that the capital be established at the State's geographical center and that this point be determined by three commissioners, one to be appointed from each of the three grand divisions of the commonwealth. This resolution, however, progressed no further than the table.[62] In due time Bill Number 1 passed second reading, still in its original form, but when it came up for third reading, a motion was made to insert Nashville in the blank.[63] The supporters of the then capital were unable to push the motion through and, in fact, it served but to set off a barrage of similar suggestions. Besides Nashville, favored sites for the permanent seat of government numbered thirteen, namely, Lebanon, Hamilton, Sparta, Knoxville, Clarksville, McMinnville, Shelbyville, Murfreesboro, Chattanooga, Franklin, Harrison, Woodbury and Kingston. Proponents of the last named community, although defeated once, on a second attempt succeeded.[64] Thereupon, the opposition advanced a rather involved plan whereby the voters of the State should select their seat of government, which, it may be pointed out, was directly contrary to the mandate imposed by the Constitutional Convention of 1834. When a vote was taken, however, the plan failed to pass, whereby Kingston was left as the Senate's choice for the final capital.[65]

Meantime, the House of Representatives had been wrestling with the same hydra-headed problem. The tendencies, indeed, were very

[59] MS. Appropriation Bill, State Archives, 1839-40.

[60] In 1843 the composition of the General Assembly was as follows: Senate, 14 Whigs and 11 Democrats; House of Representatives, 40 Whigs and 35 Democrats.

[61] *Senate Journal,* 1843, p. 6.

[62] *Ibid.,* 6-7. The legislature received numerous petitions praying that the permanent seat of government be established at or near the geographical center of the State. See MS. Petitions, State Archives, 1843.

[63] *Senate Journal,* 1843, p. 44.

[64] The Kingstonites won by a single vote. Nashville was likewise twice proposed, but twice defeated.

[65] *Senate Journal,* 1843, p. 61.

much the same as those in the upper house. There was made the usual suggestion that the lasting seat of government be fixed at or near the exact center of the State. Unique[66] was the proposal that the permanent capital oscillate biennially between Knoxville and Jackson; a proposed amendment to this named Carthage as the community where any extraordinary sessions of the General Assembly should convene. Neither the dual nor triple capital idea, however, seemed to appear in attractive guise to the mass of representatives, for motions relating thereto were overwhelmingly defeated. Indeed, the task of deciding upon a single, definite seat of government was to prove difficult enough. In addition to Knoxville, Jackson and Carthage, nine other communities were thrust forward as suitable sites, namely, Carrollsville, Sparta, Nashville, Smithville, Savannah, Manchester, Murfreesboro, Lebanon and Paris. Each of these was successively voted down. Nevertheless, the sponsors of Murfreesboro, undismayed by one defeat, advanced that name again, and this time triumphed.[67]

Although the House of Representatives had picked Murfreesboro as its choice for final capital, it was very soon acquainted with the fact that the Senate had selected otherwise. When the lower house began consideration of the upper's resolution naming Kingston, a motion to strike out that name rather easily carried.[68] Inasmuch as the House, after a bitter struggle, had but a short time before selected Murfreesboro, it was to be presumed that that name would at once have been inserted in the blank created by the striking out of Nashville. Not so, however, and, curiously enough, Murfreesboro was not even suggested as a possibility. On the other hand, there was certainly no dearth of competing communities; presented for consideration were the claims of no fewer than fourteen: Harrison, Nashville, Charlotte, Shelbyville, Reynoldsburg, Smithville, Manchester, Carrollsville, Woodbury, Taylorsville, Monticello, Chattanooga, McMinnville and Columbia. Each of these was defeated. Then, and for the second time, the name of Nashville was proposed and upon this occasion the supporting motion was adopted, 43 to 31.[69] Thus it was that the House of Representatives had receded from its original choice of Murfreesboro, had refused to concur in the Senate's selec-

[66] Unique, that is, for Tennessee; on the other hand, the legislature of Connecticut, for example, had been meeting alternately at New Haven and Hartford since the third quarter of the seventeenth century.

[67] *House Journal*, 1843, pp. 30-37.

[68] *Ibid.*, 45. The vote was 47 to 27.

[69] *Ibid.*, 47-58.

tion of Kingston, and at length had sent on to the upper house the name of Nashville.

For the final scene in the capital drama, the Senate served as stage. Apparently, no effort was made by the upper house in the direction of insisting upon its first favorite, Kingston. A motion in favor of the State's geographical center attracted only an insufficient seven votes. Attempts in behalf of Clarksville and Columbia likewise failed. Then it was proposed that the upper concur with the lower house in the latter's preference for Nashville. This proposal carried, 17 to 8.[70] The long and bitter fight was ended; Nashville had been selected as the permanent capital of Tennessee.

[70] *Senate Journal,* 1843, pp. 62-64. The date was October 7, 1843.

PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUE IN THE JACKSON CAMPAIGN OF 1828

By Culver H. Smith

In 1822 John Quincy Adams was flirting with the idea of becoming president, but he was not doing much about it. His indifference to a well-conceived campaign exasperated his friends who wished to see him attain that high office. Adams merely quoted Macbeth: "If chance will make me king, why chance may crown me." To which his wise friend Joseph Hopkinson, replied: "But kings are made by politicians and newspapers; and the man who sits down waiting to be crowned, either by chance or just right, will go bareheaded all his life."

Hopkinson, at least, believed that newspapers had come to be an important element in a presidential campaign. Adams was later to realize that Hopkinson was right. Adams was the last of the series of men who became president by way of "safe precedents"—the secretaryship of state. And even his victory of 1824 came through the aid of active politicians, and was not without the support of a press. His defeat in 1828 was encompassed by opposing politicians more crafty than his own, and by an opposition press more extensive in its operations and better organized in its plans than his own publicity machinery which he so much disdained to use.

From the standpoint of the organization of publicity agencies and the distribution of political propaganda the campaign of 1828 was the most remarkable presidential campaign that had ever been waged. The co-ordination of the newspapers in spreading campaign arguments, and the co-operation of the committees of correspondence in supplying the newspapers with the arguments they wanted spread, insured a dissemination of political literature that could not fail to arouse the voters. It is idle to speculate on Jackson's chances of election without the intensive publicity work which attended his campaign; nevertheless, one feels justified in the belief that without such aid Jackson would not have received so great a vote—nor would Adams. Both probably were the beneficiaries of a much larger vote than they would have received had the publicity service been no better organized than it was in the campaign of 1824. About two years

after Jackson's election, the *National Journal,* anti-Jackson paper, reviewing the campaign and its results, made the following statement:

> The election of General Jackson to the Presidential Chair was the result of a combination of circumstances as extraordinary as it was unprecedented. All the arts of delusion were employed to mislead the public mind as well in relation to the members of the last Administration, as to his own character and competency to bring about a reform which was supposed to be necessary. Suspicions were whispered every where against the purity of the men who then administered the Government; and when specifications and proofs of mal-practices were demanded, we were told that it was impossible to unveil and expose the depth of the evil as it would be in vain to look for a cure until power should change hands." (Sept. 3, 1830.)

The dissatisfaction resulting from the election of Adams in 1824—the belief that he had frustrated the will of the people, his appointment of Henry Clay, secretary of state, and the belief that Adams and Clay had made a corrupt bargain--resulted in a determined opposition to Adams' re-election. Those who had had their hopes deferred or thwarted began drawing together and making plans for the defeat of Adams four years later. It was to be a ruthless campaign, and no stone was to be left unturned in accomplishing the object. The opponents of Adams became solicitous about securing editors and newspapers for the undertaking. The wisdom of Joseph Hopkinson was not to be lost upon the Jacksonians.

Evidence of the genuine belief in the power of the press to sway public opinion was the effort expended in the campaign of 1828 in the encouragement, production, and distribution of newspapers. All over the country new papers sprang up, increasing in number and activity as the campaign progressed. Many of these lasted but for the season, having found sustenance only in the excitement engendered by the campaign. Prospectuses were issued of many more newspapers that never came into being. Established papers entered into the campaign with a vigor that suggested either abundant patriotism, or concrete encouragement. The political leaders of each side were interested in giving aid to editors who needed it, and whose services were considered important. The administration press charged that the opposition had raised a fund of $50,000 for establishing Jackson newspapers. 1—(*National Journal,* tri-weekly, Mar. 22, 1827.)

1 *National Journal,* tri-weekly, Mar. 22, 1827.

And there is definite evidence that Clay and Webster raised money to subsidize certain papers. 2—(Clay Papers, MSS. in Library of Congress.) The Jacksonians freely charged that Clay distributed the printing patronage in such a way as to secure effective support from the press. The administration may have been trying to emulate Van Buren who, with Clinton, they thought had most of the partisan papers of New York under his control. 3—Ibid., General P. B. Porter to Clay, Oct. 26, 1827.) Van Buren believed in the press, and had actually put himself on record in this matter. "Without a paper," said he, "we may hang our harps on the willows."

Neither side had a preponderance of the country's newspapers in 1828. The *Richmond Enquirer* asserted that the administration had four hundred newspapers in its service (Mar. 1827); while the *National Journal* in the same month grimly declared that "if the establishment of Jackson presses is to be received as good and sufficient evidence of the progress of public opinion in his favor, it will indeed be absurd to oppose his pretensions much longer, for his friends are exhibiting an industry in the establishment of presses, from which we may augur that the country will soon be overrun with them." (Tri-weekly, Mar. 10, 1827.) It is probable, however, that the Jacksonians had more newspapers than the administration party, certainly more editors with the peculiar ability that such a campaign seemed to require.

The newspapers of this period enjoyed special consideration from the government. They were favored by a rapid expansion of the postal facilities, which included the rapid extension of post roads, the acceleration of the service on the most important routes and the increase in the number of postoffices between 1823 and 1828 of about seventy percent. In addition, the newspapers were favored by an extremely low postage rate. At a time when a letter of one sheet required postage of from six to twenty-five cents, depending upon the distance, a newspaper required not over a cent and a half. Indeed, if the newspapers were not carried over one hundred miles, they paid but one cent per copy.

More important than the low postage on newspapers was their free exchange between editors. Every printer of a newspaper could send one paper to each and every other printer of a newspaper within the United States free of charge. In a day when there was no telegraph, and no Associated Press or other news agencies, the free exchange of

[2] Clay Papers, MSS. in Library of Congress.
[3] *Ibid.*, General P. B. Porter to Clay, Oct. 26, 1827.

newspapers was of incalculable value, especially to the more remote regions.

It was the free exchange of newspapers between editors that was partly responsible for the pre-eminence of the Washington press in the Jacksonian era. Placed at the seat of government where politicians gathered and policies were formed, the Washington papers were able to carry political news that was at once original and eagerly sought. For much of the country this was the chief, and sometimes the only, way that national news was secured. Even New York and Philadelphia editors were to a surprising extent indebted to the Washington papers for their news of Washington. The provincial editors leaned heavily upon this source of information. For this reason the capital press was able to exert a considerable influence upon provincial opinion. The free exchange of papers was an advantage to both the Washington and the country editors. Not only could each local editor secure the news of national affairs, but the Washington editors, with newspapers from each corner of the Union, could learn the state of local feeling.

Thus in the election of 1828 the Washington newspapers had an importance not enjoyed by their successors of today. In an era when news traveled no swifter than a fast horse, the Washington printers were privileged in securing important news long before their fellow craftsmen could obtain it. And many matters of news were not distributed unless they published it. There were few newspaper correspondents to supply the metropolitan and provincial press direct. Washington was not only the political capital of the nation; it was the news capital also. The editors of the capital press mixed with the politicians, attended the sessions of Congress and gleaned the political gossip. When they wrote, it was with a consciousness of superior knowledge; and the provincial press respected them. Fortunate was a presidential candidate in those days to have a newspaper in the capital city. It is natural to expect then that in the campaign of 1828 Washington should be the center of newspaper and political propaganda activity.

The two chief papers that served the Adams-Clay administration from Washington were the *National Intelligencer* and the *National Journal.* The *National Intelligencer* was a dignified, chaste newspaper, which had been published since 1812 by Joseph Gales and his brother-in-law, W. W. Seaton. It followed the practice of supporting the administration, a policy that usually paid in the form of

government printing. It was not, however, primarily a political organ. The *National Journal,* on the other hand, was a political sheet, undisguised, in the service of Adams and Clay. It had been running since 1823, and it now was a daily as well as a weekly, like the *Intelligencer.* It was published by Peter Force, since celebrated as a book collector and publisher of American documents, but the paper was edited by a group of politicians whose identity was not always apparent. The *National Journal* was the leading Adams-Clay paper in the campaign of 1828. In the last few months of the campaign a special paper appeared, called *We the People.* It was in effect an "extra" of the *National Journal,* though Peter Force did not appear to have anything to do with it. It was a mud-slinging weekly of the worst sort, publishing pungent and odorous matter which the more decorous *National Journal* refrained from printing. This paper ended with the campaign.

Outside of Washington the chief administration papers were the *Richmond Whig,* edited by John H. Pleasants, and the *Democratic Press,* edited in Philadelphia by John Binns.

When the Jackson men formed their plans for the campaign of 1828 they were convinced of the importance of maintaining a newspaper organ in Washington. Even Jackson himself believed in having a newspaper there. Whether they regarded such a paper as being indispensable to Jackson's success or not, they at least pointed out that in the campaign of 1824 Jackson had had no newspaper support to speak of while Adams had had. They further observed that Washington was the center of the political activities of the Adams and Clay men, and that it was important to have an alert newspaper at this point to detect "their schemes of power and patronage, their bargain, intrigue and management."

The paper which they established was the *United States' Telegraph.* It emerged in 1826 under the editorship, first of John S. Mehan, and then of Duff Green. It immediately assumed the role of pattern maker for the Jackson press, and eventually earned for itself, from both friend and foe, the acknowledgment of success in securing Jackson's election. After the close of the campaign the *New York Enquirer* asserted that it was to the tone and spirit of the *Telegraph,* "its incessant labors and great circulation in the Western States," that the success of General Jackson was mainly attributable. Even its political enemy, the *National Journal,* paid the *Telegraph* the left hand compliment of saying that it had labored "so to delude and abuse the public judgment, as to make it select General Jackson for President."

Duff Green, the editor, came from Missouri, where he had dabbled in law, politics, and land speculation. He had been born in Kentucky of good Virginia stock. He became identified with the Jackson interest in 1823 when he purchased the *St. Louis Enquirer* and supported the presidential candidacy of Jackson. He went to Washington in the spring of 1826 and purchased the *United States Telegraph* from Meehan with money borrowed from Senator John H. Eaton of Tennessee. He at once took rank as the leading Jackson editor of the country.

Green was not merely an editor; he was a politician. Perhaps it is more descriptive of the man to say that he was a promoter, political objects being one of his favorite pursuits. His later years were filled with promotion schemes, which included, besides publishing projects, railroad building, coal and iron mining, and free trade with England. In the campaign of 1828 he sometimes played the role of personal campaign worker. On his way to Washington from St. Louis in 1826, he called on General Jackson at the Hermitage and offered his aid in restoring friendly relations between him and General Adair. He then sought to enlist the support of some of the politicians and editors of Kentucky for the Jackson ticket. He was not a man to be content with merely printing the news or writing editorials; he carried on an active correspondence with other editors and politicians over the country, gathering and distributing propaganda, and trying to chart the political winds. He was indeed, as he was called, "field general of the Jackson forces," a member of their central committee for the United States, and a leader of the party.

Outside of Washington the most influential Jackson newspaper in the campaign was the *Argus of Western America,* published at Frankfort, Kentucky. Its importance was due in part to the fact that it was the chief Jackson paper in a doubtful state, and in part to the editorship of Amos Kendall, a debt-ridden, Yankee lawyer who became the mouth piece of the debt-ridden "new court" element in that state. Kendall, together with his friend Francis P. Blair, did more than any other Kentuckians to swing that state to Jackson in 1828.

Next to the *Frankfort Argus,* the principal Jackson newspapers outside of Washington in the 1828 campaign were the *Richmond Enquirer,* edited by Thomas Ritchie, the *New Hampshire Patriot,* edited by Isaac Hill, and the *Albany Argus,* edited by Edwin Crosswell and others, but under the supervision of Van Buren himself. Ritchie

and Hill were exceedingly vocal editors, making a stir in the campaign on their own account. Each did much for the Jackson cause in his own state. All of these co-operated with the *Telegraph* and the *Frankfort Argus,* and the group taken together presented a formidable front to the anti-Jackson forces.

One of the features of the publicity machinery was the "Committees of Correspondence." These committees assumed the responsibility of preparing campaign documents and distributing literature. Both sides had committees of correspondence, though here again the Jackson side seems to have excelled in both number and activity. They were to be found in every large city; there was a central committee for each state; and there was a national committee in Washington. In some cases the committees of correspondence formed only a part of the campaign machinery, their work being supplemented by committees of "vigilance", while in other cases they assumed all of the functions of local party campaign work, calling meetings, providing ballots, and supervising elections, as well as preparing and distributing propaganda.

These committees usually had their inception in a Jackson meeting, whether it was a meeting of a few party chieftains or a mass rally. After a meeting it was the custom to issue an address "to the people," containing any resolutions which the meeting might have adopted, and setting forth the objectives of the campaign, condemning the opposing candidate and extolling their own, or "replying to the sentiments" of some other committee. The men appointed to draft the address usually became the committee of correspondence. These committees appeared in the campaign of 1824, but they were not as numerous as in the succeeding campaign. In the latter their activity becomes obvious, as is soon perceived by a reading of the newspapers. Their "addresses", "replies", and other documents made up a very large portion of the campaign literature.

The publicity campaign of the Jacksonian opposition opened with the first issue of the *Telegraph* in February, 1826. Calling up the Jeffersonian maxim that in all free countries parties will exist and that they tend toward two grand divisions, the party of the many and the party of the few, the *Telegraph* proclaimed the motto which it carried ever after, "Power is always stealing from the many to the few," and in a lengthy two-column editorial issued its declaration of war upon the administration. From this it became clear that the main targets would be the alleged manipulation of the late presidential election, and the abuse of the patronage, both involving Henry Clay. In

this manifesto Clay was blamed for throwing the election into the House of Representatives by his perserverance as a candidate for the presidency "against all hopes of success," and he was charged with ignoring the manifest "choice of the people" for his own advantage.

The first issue said nothing about Jackson. It did observe that "it would be a want of candor and frankness not to declare" that it should feel bound, at the proper time, to oppose the re-election of Adams, "even if he had not so strongly indicated a departure from Republican principles, and a reliance upon the improper use of patronage to sustain himself in power. We complain," it continued, "of the manner in which power has been acquired, as well as that in which it has been used, and shall, on both accounts, feel ourselves called upon by the highest obligations of duty, to reject the precedent." Not until late in its first month did the *Telegraph* indicate that Jackson would be its candidate. Then, on February 24, 1826, in its leading editorial, entitled "General Jackson", the lately defeated candidate was set forth as "this firm patriot and unwavering Republican," who "has suffered and performed more for his country than any man now on the public theatre", while he has received less from his country than any prominent public citizen that she had. This was due to the "purity and excellence of the man", which had placed him so far above the corruption of the times that the designing portion of the politicians,"afraid of his virtue and high-mindedness, and of the effect his Republican plainness might produce in the country," were resolved to lose no opportunity to keep him away from any concern with the affairs of the nation. This editorial confined itself to eulogy of Jackson, and did not suggest him as the candidate of the opposition; but the intent was clear. The next use of Jackson's name came on March 8, when the information was published that the Pennsylvania gubernatorial nominating convention four days before had adopted a resolution of confidence in the "patriotism, talents, and inflexible integrity of Gen. Andrew Jackson." The *Telegraph* commented that the 98 to 7 vote for the resolution demonstrated that Pennsylvania was still attached to Jackson, and that the resolution was equivalent to a second nomination for the presidency. [4]—(Jackson had been placed in nomination for the Presidency in October, 1825, by the legislature of Tennessee.)

The earliest sustained attack upon the administration was on the question of the proposed Panama Congress. This was opened in the second issue of the *Telegraph,* February 7, 1826, and kept up till

[4] Jackson had been placed in nomination for the presidency in October. 1825, by the legislature of Tennessee.

late in the spring after both the Senate and the House had disposed of the question of sending delegates. The *Telegraph* questioned whether participation of the United States in this Congress might not be construed by Spain as an act of hostility to her. It criticized the president for not placing the matter before both houses of Congress in the beginning rather than accepting the invitation and announcing that ministers would be commissioned.

From early February through the spring of 1826 there was scarcely an isssue of the *Telegraph* that did not bruit the question of the Panama Congress. The debates in Congress and the call on the president by the House for more information about the nature of the proposed mission were kept before the readers, and the president's message explaining the purpose and desirability of the Panama Congress was criticized in plain terms. The outstanding speeches in Congress on the subject were also published in full, including Randolph's, MacDuffie's, and Benton's. From some of these speeches, the reader might gain the notion that part of the opposition was founded on the fact that the South American republics had abolished slavery, and on the fear that General Bolivar, "the Genius of Universal Emanicipation", would throw the contagion of emancipation upon the southern border of the United States.[5] But the truth of the matter was that opposition to the mission had been agreed upon by the opponents of the administration because they feared its success would make Clay and Adams popular. The liberation movement in the Spanish countries to the south as well as in Greece had received a great deal of approval and enthusiasm in the United States; at nearly every public banquet, toasts were offered to Greece and to Bolivar. The *Telegraph* suggested the reason for the opposition in a three-column editorial on March 11, in which it raised the question of who was in favor of the Panama mission, and answered that it was Henry Clay. In the newspaper's own words the reasons were: "Mr. Clay is to artful; he is too old a 'manager', and has profited too much by such movements, not to strive for some great distracting question, which, in its great excitement, may give the chances of a second triumph. This is his hope and his only hope—for who in the midst of conflagration, thinks of the lawless robber, whose daring hand applied the consuming fire for the sake of plunder?" In short, it evidenced fear that the Panama question would distract public attention from the points of opposition to Clay, including the charge of his bargain with Adams. There is no better example of the op-

[5] See *Telegraph* for March, 9, 1826, reprint from New York *Commercial Advertiser.*

position's hysteric fear of Clay, nor of the belief in his political wizardry.

Along with the publicity against the Panama Congress the *Telegraph* carried its opposition to executive patronage. At that time certain newspapers in each state, usually three in number, were selected by the secretary of state to publish the laws of Congress, for which service they were paid a moderate sum. This was a form of executive patronage that aroused the keenest interest among the newspapers. The *Telegraph* was but three days old when this subject was introduced. The occasion was the introduction by Senator Macon of North Carolina of a resolution calling for an investigation of the patronage in the hands of the executive. The *Telegraph* asserted that the great extent of patronage then in the hands of the executive was "calculated to alarm the friends of the country." One portion of the patronage particularly demanded attention, said the *Telegraph*:

> "We refer to that which operates on the press, and which tends to convert this sentinel of freedom into a spy of power... It is in vain to talk of a free press, when the *favor of power* is essential to the support of editors, and the money of the people, by passing through the hands of the Executive, is made to operate as a bribe against liberty. It is a most solemn truth, and should be deeply impressed on every mind, that if liberty shall ever expire in our country, it will die of the poisonous draught of corrupt patronage."

This was to be the tenor of later and frequent passages in the *Telegraph* on the same subject. It was an unjustifiable criticism of the Adams administration, to be sure, but it was effective in focusing attention upon a subject that many men had close to their hearts, men who in the Jackson administration demonstrated that their cant about the patronage of the press was but born of a wish unfulfilled. There was no objection by the editors to the printing of the laws by the newspapers and getting paid for it by the government; it was a much-prized contract—by those who could get it—and it is probable that the editors wished that Congress had been more thoughtful, extending the privilege of printing the laws to more than three papers to a state. As it was, the public printing was a privilege, narrow in its limitations, to be guarded, and to be fought for. Those who had it saw no danger in its enjoyment; those who had it not complained that the blessings of government were not equal in their distribution, and professed a fear that they who granted the privilege

might keep themselves in power by the improper manipulation of this form of patronage.

Not patronage, but "corrupt patronage" was the war-cry of the editors of the opposition in 1828; and "corrupt patronage," to be definite, was that distributed by Henry Clay. It is not necessary to debate whether Clay's "corrupt patronage" was actual or fancied; it was necessary to the plans of the outs to make it appear actual, let the facts be what they may. Regardless of what editors who were eager for all the patronage they could get might think, corruption of the press was an effective alarm to excite the voters. "Freedom of the press" was one of those shibboleths of the Declaration of Independence that still endured. It was writ large into the constitutions of the various states, not only those of the original thirteen, but those also of later creation. Some celebrated attempts to throttle the press had served to keep it alive. Could one expect that it would be allowed to die just at a time when the press was enjoying a new burst of glory? "Freedom of the press" enjoyed the advantage over other shibboleths in that it could be popularized through that opinion-forming medium which found this shibboleth at once its best defense, and a means of self-preservation. It had therefore a vitality that carried conviction far and wide to those who, though not directly interested in the press, were made to feel, nevertheless, that their own welfare would be threatened unless the press were kept untrammelled. "Freedom of the press," a term begotten of self-interest, could be made to do service both for the party and for those editors who wanted to get into power. It is not strange, therefore, that in the campaign of 1828 this theme was used for all it was worth. How much it was worth cannot be determined; but the frequency of its use testifies to belief in its potency.

It should be noted that the attacks on the administration for the abuse of the patronage were directed against Adams and Clay. This requires notice inasmuch as the officer having the greatest number of appointments at his disposal was the postmaster general, John McLean. But apparently it was not in the plans of the opposition to attack McLean. The Jacksonians may have had no justification for so doing, or they may have preferred to concentrate their attacks upon Adams and Clay. This, however, lends color to the charge that McLean was secretly working for the Jackson-Calhoun interests. It is noteworthy that on the occasion when the appointment of a postmaster caused a vigorous protest, McLean was not censured. This was the appointment of John P. Erwin to be deputy postmaster at

Nashville in place of Robert B. Curry. Curry was said to have had the support of ten of the eleven members of the Tennessee delegation in Congress and six hundred petitioners, including General Jackson, while Erwin was vigorously opposed. But the appointment of Erwin was explained on the grounds that Adams took the appointment out of the hands of McLean. So Adams was blamed and McLean was excused. Clay's part was not overlooked, for it was pointed out by the opposition papers that Erwin was a relative of Clay, Erwin being the brother of Clay's son-in-law. In fact, the appointment was made, according to their assertion, "To gratify the wishes of that arch juggler, Henry Clay."[6]

The story of the campaign of 1828 cannot be told without reference to the charge of a corrupt bargain between Adams and Clay. The circulation of this charge was the feature of the campaign, and it took the place of a paramount issue. Based upon premises of uncertain foundation, it nevertheless evoked a popular disapproval of Clay that not only helped to defeat the re-election of Adams, but swept away Clay's chances of the presidency. If it be granted that the charge was entirely unwarranted, it becomes thereby not less worthy of consideration, but more so, inasmuch as it exhibits the power of a well-organized Jackson press and other agencies of propaganda.

Green used the charge with the greatest assurance. As soon as he took over the *Telegraph* in the spring of 1826, he declared that he was prepared to demonstrate that "the election of Mr. Adams was the result of a corrupt understanding between the leading parties to it."[7] The term "corrupt understanding" was probably used advisedly. In November he commenced a series of five articles in the *Telegraph*, "To the People of the United States," in which he undertook to develop his thesis that the election was a result of a "corrupt understanding." But in these articles there was no charge of an outright political bargain, merely a lengthy exposition that sought to give the impression of corruption. Green knew at the time these articles appeared that the charge of a direct corrupt bargain between Adams and Clay could not be substantiated. But Green was endowed with a talent that enabled him to enshroud his opponents with the appearance of evil without establishing the concrete evidence of it. Such was the character of the literature on the bargain throughout the campaign, and in spite of all the literature, defensive or offensive,

[6] See *Telegraph*, April 20, May 8, 11, 17, Oct. 4, 13, 1826.

[7] *Ibid.*, June 5, 1826.

in spite of investigations or near-investigations, the understanding of the average voter was probably no clearer in the end than it was in the beginning of the controversy; but for the purposes of the Jacksonians this was not a wholly undesirable situation for, as one of the leading Jacksonians wrote, it was the "mystery" thrown around it that was largely the reason for considering it a "corrupt bargain."

The Jackson press and politicians had work to do besides that of circulating the bargain charge. The Jackson papers published the reports of the many Jackson meetings and the addresses or circulars of the principal Jackson corresponding committees. But in addition to this the Jackson press devoted considerable space to answering the attacks upon Jackson by the administration newspapers. The latter were severe on Jackson and often nasty. They examined Jackson's domestic relations and scandalized his wife; they condemned him because he sanctioned the execution of six militiamen; they castigated him for lending his name to the bargain charge; they branded him as an illiterate; they exhibited him as a negro trader, as a man lacking in veracity, as one who had been associated with Aaron Burr in his conspiracy, and as an official whose conduct, both as military commander in New Orleans and as civil administrator of Florida, revealed him as a man unqualified for the presidency. All these charges and others were assembled and published during 1828 in *Truth's Advocate and Monthly Anti-Jackson Expositor,* printed in Cincinnati. The last number of this administration handbook, published in October, ended with the following conclusive condemnation of Jackson:

> You know that he is no jurist, no statesman, no politician; that he is destitute of historical, political, or statistical knowledge: that he is unacquainted with the orthography, concord and government of his language. You know that he is a man of no labour, no patience, no investigation, in short, that his whole recommendation is animal fierceness and organic energy. He is wholly unqualified by education habit and temper, for the station of President.

To make such attacks upon the "Old Hero" was to inspire the Jackson editors and the Jackson corresponding committees to greater efforts. It was largely to afford a convenient medium for the statements and documents of the corresponding committees that the *Telegraph Extra* was got out in the form and with the frequency of *Truth's Advocate,* and for the purpose of combating that publication in its own style.

More vexatious for the editor of the *Telegraph* than *Truth's Advocate* was *We The People,* published in Washington. It appeared at the same time that the *Telegraph Extra* appeared, and like the *Extra* was designed as a campaign publication. *We The People* indulged in a more unbridled criticism of Jackson and his followers than the *National Journal.* It was designed to match the *Telegraph* at its worst. It was fond of giving the lie to the declarations of Duff Green, and it called his paper the "Tell-lie-graph." It defied the friends of Jackson to show that he was supported on principles: in the eyes of his friends he was one thing in Pennsylvania, another in New York; a tariffite in Ohio, and an anti-tariffite in South Carolina and Georgia. "Joseph's coat was of a consistent complexion compared to the patchwork of his political robe. . . ."(April 12, 1828). *We The People* also berated Jackson for the vulgar manner in which it alleged he circulated "his contemptible insinuation about unfairness and corruption" after the last election.

> "These charges were first made in stages, steam boats and bar-rooms; places in which none but low and vulgar men would give loose to their feelings; places which no man with just claims to any of the characteristics which belong to a man fitted for the Presidency, would indulge in such language, even if possessed of facts to bear him out in his declarations: places, in which no man whose manners had not been formed with such men as figure at race grounds, cock pits, and gambling tables woud ever have thought of venting his spleen and mortification, at the disappointment experienced." (March 1, 1828.)

We The People attacked the *Telegraph,* "the common-sewer print," for its attempt to create the impression that Adams and Clay were encouraging the anti-Masonic spirit in New York State. (April 12.) It defended the circulation of coffin handbills, saying that the effect of seeing those printed "coffins filled with the militia-men, slaughtered by the order of General Jackson" was such that it proved they ought to be more generally circulated. (April 12).

The Jackson press did not neglect the charges urged against their candidate. Against the accusation that in 1807 he had been an adherent of Aaron Burr in his projected treason they offered the contemporary declarations of Jefferson that Jackson was one of the most useful of those who detected Burr's intentions, and the fact that Jackson had written Governor Claiborne, of Louisiana, at the time declaring his suspicion that a treasonable project was on foot, and sug-

gesting watchfulness on the part of the government. In extenuation of Jackson's high-handed conduct in regard to the city of New Orleans in 1815, his defenders offered his pure motives and his patriottism. If he violated the law, was it not for the preservation of liberty? He broke through the forms of the Constitution, but was it not to save the land? Where would have been the Constitution, and what the law, had the British entered New Orleans? Jefferson was quoted as saying that a strict observance of the written laws is one of the high duties of a good citizen, but not the highest. The laws of necessity, of self-preservation, of saving the country are of higher obligation. Examples were cited from the Revolutionary War of the destruction or confiscation of private property for military necessity, General Washington's course in this matter being given as a precedent. In regard to the execution of the six militia-men the Jackson press pointed out that this was a matter which would never have come up had it not been for the election campaign; that there was never any question about the legality of the execution; that the mutineers had been tried by a regular court-martial composed of their own associates and neighbors, by whom the sentence was imposed; and that General Jackson, who was two hundred miles away, had no reason for feeling that it was his duty to interfere with the execution of the sentence. On the other hand, the effort of the administration party to misrepresent these facts by doggerel monodies, forged letters, and wood-cut monuments, was reproachable, although to be expected; while the fact that a high functionary of the government should condescend to the irregular arrangement of documents, confusing the order of incidents in such a way as to make authorized acts appear unauthorized, was deplorable. It was the editor of the *Baltimore Republican,* Dabney S. Carr, who provided the most satisfactory answer to the militia-mongers. He secured and published the order of Governor Willie Blount of Tennessee, on General Jackson for a thousand men from his second division of Tennessee militia for garrison duty in the Creek territory, and also General Jackson's order to his troops in compliance with the governor's. In both orders it was specifically stated that the term of service was to be six months, unless shortened by order of the president of the United States. These documents, and others supplementing these, were the answer to the plea of the deserters that they had been called out for only three months, and having left the army at the end of three months they had fulfilled their term of service. The administration papers had tried to show that the argument of the militia-men was valid, but

the papers had carefully refrained from publishing the documents which Carr now brought out.[8]

There were other charges made against Jackson which were held to be false in fact, and unimportant if true. A specimen of these was that Jackson was ignorant of the art of spelling. It was true, ran one of these apologies,[9] "that the old gentleman is culpably negligent, when in haste, about dotting his i's and crossing his t's, and that he is by no means as careful as he might be about beginning his sentences with capital letters." General Jackson was really irregular in his orthography, as much so as Mr. Jefferson or Mr. Everett, and more so than Mr. Adams. But if General Jackson's spelling was sometimes bad, Mr. Adams' hand-writing was seldom good. Against the charge of being illiterate his apologists pointed out that before he entered the army as a soldier he had acquired a knowledge of the Latin language and had made some progress in Greek; that he was for two years a student of law, nine years a practising lawyer, twice a Senator, once a judge, a governor of a territory, and the commander for several years of a military district; that his voluminous correspondence with the departments at Washington, on file there, could be examined as proof against the charge. Those who examined the correspondence would find that his letters were in matter plain, simple, common sense; and in style rapid and clear, never requiring a second reading to discover their meaning. They would find few brilliant metaphors, no Greek quotations, no toilsome and painful struggles after eloquence. "If to state facts precisely and forcibly, to point out the connection between premises and the conclusion to which they tend, and to transfer to others the vivid impress of his own warm feelings: if these be the object of language, then must it be admitted by all who have examined the productions of his pen, that Andrew Jackson writes well and eloquently."

The opponents of Jackson perhaps gained nothing by exhibiting him as a man given to strong language. It was not an age of overmuch piety anyway. Besides, a large portion of the voters of that day would feel that a man possessed of the temperament that occasionally expressed itself in spontaneous "cuss words" was a man they could understand. This gave him an appeal which the less colorful Adams did not have.

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[8] The documents, and much supporting material copied from the *Baltimore Republican,* were printed in the *Telegraph,* April 25, 1828. Carr was to have his reward when Jackson should become President.

[9] *A Candid View of the Presidential Question,* pamphlet by "A Pennsylvanian" (Phila. August, 1828).

Besides newspapers, campaign literature was distributed in other forms—pamphlets, broadsides, and biographies. John H. Eaton's biography of Jackson was brought out in a third edition, revised and brought up to date for the election. There were many pamphlets printed from time to time and distributed, though the substance of most of these found their way into the newspapers. A form of literature much used by the Adams-Clay party was the broadside or handbill. The best known of this type was the "coffin handbill". It was entitled in bold, black letters "SOME ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE BLOODY DEEDS OF GENERAL JACKSON". It was a sheet about fifteen by twenty-two inches in dimensions, bearing a broad, black border. At the top of the sheet appeared the black imprint of six coffins, arranged vertically. At the head of them appeared the names of the six militiamen who were shot at Mobile by the orders of the military court-martial and General Jackson. Below the coffins on the sheet was a brief story of the execution of the men, which one would be led to believe was entirely due to General Jackson. Another coffin was printed with a separate story of John Woods, a guard at Fort Strother, who was executed for insubordination. By the side of this was a cut showing Jackson running a sword through the body of Samuel Jackson, on a street of Nashville, with a shocking description appended. There were twelve more black coffins shown in addition to the nine already described, eight of them representing soldiers of the regular army who were allegedly executed near Nashville some time before the execution of the militiamen, and four coffins representing alleged "atrocities" against the Indians in Jackson's Florida campaign. At the bottom of the sheet appeared a letter from Thomas H. Benton, then a political friend of Jackson, written September 10, 1818, describing a fight of Benton and his brother, Jesse, with Jackson, Colonel Coffee and others in Nashville a few days earlier[10]

John Binns, who was convinced, largely by the enemies of Jackson, according to his own confession, that the unfavorable stories about Jackson were true, conceived the coffin handbill as a means to "arrest the public attention and impress the public mind with the injustice and the enormity of the crime of General Jackson, in respect to the shooting of these militia men."[11] He had the handbills issued as supplements to the *Democratic Press*, and a supplement sent with every copy of the daily, tri-weekly, and weekly issues. Several

[10] A copy of the coffin handbill may be found in the Library of Congress, Division of Manuscripts, in the collection of Broadsides, vol. 229.

[11] *Recollections of the Life of John Binns*, pp. 245 ff.

thousands were issued and circulated through the United States.[12] They were also issued for direct distribution as broadsides. They were furnished to the public at the rate of fifty cents a hundred, or five dollars a thousand. One notice in the *Democratic Press* announced a printing of ten thousand.[13] Binns wrote in his *Recollections* (p. 246) many years afterwards that it was doubtful whether there ever was a publication which brought upon its publisher "such active, general, and intense odium" as the coffin handbills brought upon him. They probably lost as many votes as they gained. In addition to the inconsistent and unreliable statements in the handbills, their very looks were more likely to inspire horror of the man who issued them than a repugnance of the successful and popular general whose methods and practices were more in harmony with the mores of his people than Binns suspected. Binns miscalculated. If one of his reasons for featuring the militiaman, John Harris, in the handbill had been to appeal to the Baptists of the South and West, through the fact that Harris was a Baptist preacher, his desired effect was nullified by the portrayal of Harris as a week-kneed and cringing soldier when he faced the prospect of death. Most people in the South and West who read this in all probability retained a suspicion that Harris and the others got what they deserved. In western New York the circulation of the coffin handbills was curtailed by some of the Adams managers themselves.[14]

Another broadside of somewhat similar nature except for the coffins was called "The Light of Truth". It featured the execution of John Woods, but it included also an account of Jackson's duel with Charles Dickinson, in 1806, in which Jackson killed Dickinson, and the story of Jackson's attempt to "assassinate" Benton in 1818. It is likely that this broadside was designed to horrify the Quakers of Pennsylvania. Ten thousand copies of it were issued by the press of *We The People*.[15] The matter was copied by some papers as newspaper material.

Still other broadsides issued by the Adams adherents were "Facts Concerning the Six Militia Men and General Jackson", a reiteration of material appearing in the coffin handbills, and another entitled "Huzza! For General Jackson!" The latter was a piece of low sarcasm, containing eleven "reasons why General Jackson should be elected President of the United States", the "reason" in each case

12 *Ibid.*
13 *Telegraph,* Sept. 3, 1828.
14 *Autobiography of Thurlow Weed,* (Boston and New York, 1884), pp.308-09.
15 See issue for Apr. 26, 1828.

being an argument against him.[16] John Binns got out still other handbills, one of which was significantly called "Monumental Inscriptions". It was a variation of the coffin handbill, in which an inscription was offered for the men whom General Jackson had put to death, each inscription telling the story in no complimentary terms to Jackson. They came out about three weeks before the general election. In pamphlet form they sold at two and a half dollars a hundred, or eight for twenty-five cents.[17] Jonathan Elliot issued a pamphlet entitled

> Official Record from the War Department of the Proceedings of the Court Martial which Tried, and the Orders of General Jackson for Shooting the Six Militiamen, together with Official Letters from the War Department, (Ordered to be printed by Congress) Showing that These American Citizens were Inhumanly and Illegally Massacred.

Green vigorously protested against the attempt to make it appear that this document was ordered by Congress, as well as against the omissions and the juggling which made the pamphlet a gross forgery and falsehood. He also scored the Congressmen who sent out the pamphlet, under their franks, and he published their names when he could obtain them.[18]

But the newspapers were the most important form of political literature. Especially was this true for the Jackson party, partly because of the strength of the party organ at Washington, partly because of the well organized and extensive press with its system of copying from the leading paper. The newspaper "extras", moreover, formed an important element of political literature for both sides. The *Telegraph Extra* was "dedicated to the corresponding committees throughout the Union", according to its own announcement; it was filled with the kind of material that would be useful for argument, for persuasion, or refutation. It was, in short, the party handbook for the year. The price charged was one dollar for the entire number issued. The number as originally planned was thirty-two, though it was increased to thirty-six before the publication ceased, January 24, 1829. This abbreviated form was a considerable advantage to those who did not want to pay ten dollars for the daily *Telegraph*, or five dollars for the tri-semi-weekly. The publishers believed that

[16] Examples of these broadsides may be found in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress.
[17] *Telegraph*, Sept. 3, 1828.
[18] *Ibid.*, Apr. 25, May 1, 1828.

such a paper would be "more accessible to every citizen". The *Extra* was abundantly used by the Jackson committees for the publication of material got up by them. It was to provide a rival to compete with the *Telegraph Extra* on its own terms that *We the People* was issued by the publishers of the *National Journal* as a weekly extra. It was designed largely for the same purpose, though it did not prove as effective.

The distribution of campaign literature, especially of the *Telegraph*, is one of the interesting phases of the campaign. Of course, one of the regular methods of distribution was by subscription. Of subscribers the *Telegraph* claimed an unusual number for a paper of those days. At the end of the campaign Green claimed that the paper had gained more than twenty thousand subscribers since he had become editor. And this statement was not challenged. The amazing thing is that the postmasters were allowed to take subscriptions for the *Telegraph*. As early as April, 1826, a notice appeared in the *Telegraph* asking for subscriptions and stating that "Remittances are solicited through the Postmaster of the respective offices, who are authorized to give receipts in the name of the Editor."[19] The agents were allowed from a third to a half of the subscription price.[20]

But the subscription method was not the only one used for spreading the *Telegraph*. Additional copies were published and sent out over the country gratis under the postage-saving method of the Congressional frank. With a subscription list of probably not over twenty thousand, the *Telegraph* asserted in the spring of 1828 that it was printing and circulating forty thousand *Telegraphs* a week. And its political enemy, *We the People*, admitted that this might be true, for it found its way into every nook and corner of the United States. (April 12,1828). The same paper charged that the *Telegraph* was circulated under the franks of Congressmen Randolph, Wickliffe, Daniel, Findlay, Stanbury, Kremer, Ingham, Van Horne, Stevenson, and T. P. Moore. (April 26). Moore, a representative from Kentucky, was accused of abusing his franking privilege; 1610 packages of the *Telegraph* were counted at one time by a Kentuckian in the Maysville post office, all under Moore's frank.[21] He was also suspected of over-using his privilege in Indiana. The *Village Register* of Ohio, Indiana, reported a mail passing through that place containing one hundred and twenty free letters and papers from Moore

19 *Ibid.*, Apr. 22, 1826.
20 *Ibid.*, Dec. 4 ,1828.
21 *We the People*, Mar. 22, 1828.

to General John McCarthy of Connersville, Indiana.[22] A letter to *We the People* from Salisbury, North Carolina, complained that the "honorable member from Bunscombe [*sic*] district" had deluged them with the *Telegraph* "by furnishing every individual whose name is on the Jackson committee with a newspaper. About forty of that paper also comes to Mocksville weekly, to persons who do not subscribe." The writer of the letter ended his message with an appeal for "some of the militia documents" with which to counter the Jacksonian propaganda.[23]

Both sides sent out newspapers as campaign literature, and both sides used the Congressional frank for distributing them; but it appears that the Jackson party outdid the Adams party in these respects. *We the People* asserted that the friends of Jackson distributed twice as many papers and pamphlets as the friends of Adams, and that Pennsylvania, New York, Kentucky, and Ohio had literally been deluged with them. (April 19, 1828). For every bundle the Adams adherents franked, the Jacksonians franked a half-dozen. (*Ibid.*, Mar. 22). Appeals came to the Adams publishers for material. One from Elizabeth Court House, New York, to the editor of the *National Journal,* appealed for a half-dozen copies of the *Journal* and about the same number of the *Intelligencer* for free distribution among a class of men in his neighborhood.[24] A gentleman from Richmond county, New York, sent five dollars to the *National Journal,* and asked for copies of the semi-weekly *Journal, We the People,* "and any other efficient and serviceable publication that the money will pay for" up to the state election in November.[25] Francis Johnson, of Bowling Green, Kentucky, an Adams man, wrote to his fellow citizen, John J. Crittenden, in a tone of despair: "This district is lined, fitted, inundated with Ingham's pamphlets, Wickliffe's & Rives' speeches and above all with large packages of the Telegraph, containing some twenty, some more, each in the form of letters enveloped in writing paper...to be directed as the distributors shall judge expedient." There was small hope of keeping up with the Jacksonians. Johnson complained that as their opponents seem to gain the ascendancy, the exertions of many of their friends relaxed. "The Jackson men out do us in industry, and contributions from some quarter. I have to supply about 4 counties at my expense with pam-

[22] *Nat. Journal,* June 13, 1828. Moore's service for Duff Green in franking his letters and papers gained him the nickname of "Free Tom Moore".

[23] *We the People,* May 10, 1828.

[24] G. Stow to the Editor of the *Nat. Journal, Peter Force Papers,* Library of Congress MSS.

[25] *Ibid.* J. J. Crocheron to the editor of the *Journal,* Aug. 27, 1828.

phlets & paper & it is a heavy burden, but I shall bear up under it as long as I can—the last hope for the world is at stake."[26]

As the campaign wore toward the end the administration press, especially of Washington, betrayed a mixture of desperation and defeatism in its tone. Withal, there was a certain amount of plain disgust that so many people had shown such poor judgment in preferring to the accomplished occupant of the White House a mere "military chieftain," and that they had been swept away with the chorus of "Hurrah for Jackson."

The Jackson papers had an air of sport. They seemed to relish every sally of the enemy for the opportunity it offered to measure their verbal strength with that of the foe. There was victory in their manner as the end of the campaign neared, and a confidence that was justified by the results. They had fought a hard fight; and though they had not been over-squeamish about the ethics employed at times, they felt that the end justified the means; the "people's will" had been vindicated. The valiant would now come into their own.

Jackson won the election by an electoral vote of 178 to 83. The comfortable majority of 95 easily leads to the conclusion that Jackson's victory was overwhelming. It supports the further conclusion, sometimes made, that the election of Jackson was a democratic revolution; that the newly enfranchised masses rose in their might, under the leadership of Jackson, and smote down the aristocratic element represented by John Quincy Adams and his followers. The popular vote does not substantiate such conclusions. There were nearly as many people who voted for Adams as those who voted for Jackson. The latter's total recorded vote was 647,276, while the former's was 508,064. Adams received about forty-four percent of the whole. Both candidates received several times the number that they polled in 1824.

The outstanding fact in the election figures is not Jackson's majority, but the size of the total popular vote. The total vote of 1828 shows an extraordinary increase over that of 1824. And the figures indicate that the increase was not due to the four states which had adopted the popular method of election between these two dates. Nor can the widening of the franchise account for this remarkable increase in the size of the vote, for the franchise was not extended in these four years (except for a change of slight effect in New York).

[26] Johnson to Crittenden, Apr. 12, 1828, Crittenden Papers, Lib. of Cong. MSS.

Neither can the normal increase incident to the increase of population account for the difference.

That there was a mighty stirring of the electorate is obvious. The question that presents itself is, why was there so much interest manifested? The easy and simple answer that Jackson was a leader who caught the imagination of the vote-conscious masses at a time when the ideals for which he stood were riding the wave of popular favor is not adequate when confronted by the fact that the man who was supposed to be the antithesis of Jacksonism stood almost as high in the popular favor as Jackson himself. One should not push back the period of Jackson as president, with its attendant concepts, into the period of Jackson as candidate. It can hardly be denied that the campaign of 1828 was exciting, but the thing that made it exciting was the work of the press. There was reason for the interest manifested in the election. The reason is not difficult to apprehend when one takes up the newspapers and pamphlets of the years 1826 to 1828 and projects oneself into the spirit of the campaign—a spirit engendered, organized, and set going by expert politicians and crafty printers.

CRADDOCK'S FIRST PSEUDONYM

By Edd Winfield Parks

When Thomas Bailey Aldrich discovered in 1885 that Charles Egbert Craddock, long a valued contributor of mountain stories to the *Atlantic Monthly,* was a demure Tennessee woman named Mary Noailles Murfree, the revelation caused sensational newspaper stories, and attracted wide notice even in France and England. By that time Miss Murfree was a respected and established author, one whom critics could compare with earlier cases of cloaked identity —George Eliot, George Sand, the Brontë sisters.

A decade earlier, however, Mary Noailles Murfree was writing light society essays, under another name: R. E. Dembry. No reference has ever been made to this work. Apparently it has never been recognized as belonging to Charles Egbert Craddock. The author rarely referred to it; she preferred that these frivolous, youthful essays be forgotten. This is hardly just, either to herself or to persons interested in her work. For, if not valuable as literature, they go far toward explaining both Mary Noailles Murfree and the Tennessee society of which she was a part. But some knowledge of her early life, usually neglected, is necessary before one can understand this phase of her career.

In 1867 Fanny and Mary were sent to Philadelphia, to Chegaray Institute. It was a large jump for two girls in their 'teens, from war-torn little Nashville with its 2,500 inhabitants, to huge and serene Philadelphia, whose more optimistic citizens talked easily, though inaccurately, of a million people.[1]

Until this transplantation, Mary's life had been that of any well-to-do Tennessee, or, for that matter, Southern girl. True, she had suffered a partial paralysis that had forced mental pleasures often to usurp the place of physical pleasures, but to her this was little hardship. Life at Grantlands, at Fair Oaks, at Beersheba, and at Nashville had paralleled closely or remotely the lives of thousands of other Southern girls. Even life in a beleagured town, garrisoned by men in blue, was no uncommon experience. School life in Philadelphia was new, different—far outside the usual pattern.

[1] *Ninth Census,* 320.

Chegaray catered to a new sentiment in the country, which had made, and was to make, small headway in the South: the feeling that all culture must be for some unknown reason foreign, exotic, not American. For the South had felt itself an integral part and continuation of England, its dependence that of a maturing son for its mother. Other sections desired a cosmopolitanism which England had never possessed, sought that cosmopolitanism in romantic corners of the globe. Bayard Taylor, Stoddard, Stedman, and their kind wrote little of native life. Even material for poetry must be found in Ispahan and the Arabian desert, rather than in Pennsylvania and the widening west. These were little more than hollow men, seeking in far surfaces for that which they had not in themselves, but in that day they dominated an American literature and culture which could find little of good in Whitman's barbaric yawp or Melville's inchoate threnody.

Chegaray was not unlike other boarding schools for girls, except for one thing. French must be spoken at all times. All lessons save Italian were recited in French. Voice meant opera, French and Italian. German opera might almost as well never have existed. The meals were prepared by French chefs, and the lightest of French wines were served with them. If Mary and Fanny could go through an entire week without speaking English, then Sunday afternoon was given to them as holiday when they could converse in their native tongue.[2]

It is impossible to know just what impression Mary carried from Chegaray into later life. She could remember that sister Fannie sang beautifully, in the school production of an Italian opera, based on an English novel, *Clarissa Harlowe,* and she could remember, when she met him years later, that she had seen Edwin Booth both as Hamlet and as Iago. Keane, old and feeble, once appeared in *Louis XI.* Always, of course, there was the opera, constant satisfaction to one who loved music as she did. In addition to the usual favorites, she was always to remember *Lahme,* with the stirringly poignant Song of the Bells to conclude that spirited story of India.

For Mary, music was far more than a polite accomplishment. Through music the latent passions and repressions found an expression denied elsewhere: through music one spoke a language intelligible only to kindred souls, or to moon and stars, that carried subtle inflections denied to words whose connotations and overtones were at best imperfect and liable to misunderstanding. She could

[2] F. N. D. Murfree, Biography. (Unpublished, and mss. pages unnumbered).

play and sing, with a passionate fervor given only to those who live much within themselves. But she desired even more. So at Chegaray she began to write music for poems and hymns that she loved, and there she wrote an accompaniment for the French hymn, "Mon Dieu, mon Sovereigne." It was a fascinating avocation, that was to occupy many hours of a life-time chiefly busy with words.

From these school-days one or two poems remain, never published but preserved on yellowed paper, in bold, heavily black letters:

O love was done to death today
O love has laid him down to die;
An angry word has done the deed,
A cruel and averted eye—
After the fact accessory.[3]

She was to write few poems. This, save for the last line, is precisely what might be expected from one steeped in the sentimental literature so popular in the South, from one who could quote at length from Tom Moore and his blood-brothers. But the legal phrase in the final line is indicative of interest, awakened by her father, in law and legal phraseology, and that interest never died. Trials and court-room scenes and legal questions figure prominently in many novels, and the sentimental poet of eighteen has already manifested at least enough interest in legal matters to retain and and use legal phraseology. This may seem to make overly important what after all is only a common phrase—but one versed in Southern poetry realizes immediately that this would have been considered no fit poetic diction by any lady poet worth her salt. O's abounded in profusion, and love was often done to death by cruel eyes, but legal and poetic phraseology could never intermingle, and certainly had no place in sad repinings. In the earliest composition today available, Mary Noailles Murfree shows plainly that to a certain point she was within the tradition, but that point held neither fixity nor rockbound control.

The two sisters, always inseparable, came home early in the summer of 1869.[4] In Nashville a young lady could find much amusement. Daughters of prominent men, though they did not formally make their debut, were distinctly "in society", and it was necessary to act the part. Private dances were popular, where young couples danced to such popular favorites as The Blue Danube and The Last Flirtation. The dances bore royal and military names, chiefly:

[3] Mss. copy.
[4] F. N. D. Murfree, Biography.

Prince Imperial, Lancers, Varsovienne, and the intricate Caledonians, with its basket figures where dancers wove in and out. There were also a few semi-public dances that young ladies might attend. Two clubs, appropriately named the Benedicts and the Coelebs[5], alternated in giving dances each fortnight at the new and popular Maxwell House.[6] There Mary watched, with eyes sharpened by French women wise in social manners, the tactics of young belles who knew that many admirers are better than one. For she could not dance; the lameness which interfered little with her walk prevented her from tripping through intricate measures on a polished floor. Although Mary claimed that, by not dancing, she could talk with twenty men while other girls could talk with only one,[7] she remained an onlooker. Men might courteously, even eagerly, chat with her, for she possessed wit and vivacity, but talking with twenty men in concert is not comparable to dancing with twenty men successively. In her heart she knew this, but nature had made her a wall-flower, and one must take necessity as lightly as possible. So she watched, and that observation was soon to find expression.

In the fall of 1871, Mr. Murfree left Nashville and moved to his plantation near Murfreesboro. Here there were few dances to attend, few festivals and picnics and musicals. To amuse themselves, people were thrown more on their own resources. Even the small social life of the town was two miles distant from their home. There was little to do. Two young girls could read, and knit, and ride. Each morning Mary and Fanny would ride across what they called the *Campagna,* to the redoubts of the fort. The battle-field by day seemed almost as haunted as by night. "By wintry daylight the battlefield is still more ghastly. Gray with the pallid crab-grass, which so eagerly usurps the place of last summer's crops, it stretches out on every side to meet the bending sky. The armies that successively encamped upon it did not leave a tree for miles, but here and there thickets have sprung up since the war, and bare and black they intensify the gloom of the landscape. Beneath the branches are rows of empty, yawning graves where the bodies of soldiers were

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[5] The name of the club was taken from Hannah Moore's novel, *Coelebs in Search of a Wife,* first published in 1809, but popular in the South long after the Civil War.

[6] The Maxwell House was formally opened Sept. 22, 1869, with a banquet which Mr. Murfree attended. Construction was started in 1859, and during the Civil War the building was known as Zollicoffer Barracks, serving first as Confederate barracks, then after the capture of Nashville as prison and hospital. *Nashville Press and Times,* Sept. 23, 1869.

[7] F. N. D. Murfree, Biography.

temporarily buried."[8] And, in the deep well within the fort, one could see a lone black snake circling through the water.

Such an environment must have made a deep impression on Mary's mind. The influence of father and mother was equally powerful. Mrs. Murfree played regularly each day, on a new, square black Steinway, all the classical music which she loved. Mr. Murfree could find few law classes, and spent much time at home, in the vain effort to rehabilitate Grantland. He was a delightful raconteur, and loved to tell dialect stories: Irish, mountain, and Negro. He would tell of an Irish Noah who found in the ark that rarest of treasures, a demi-john of Irish whiskey; of young bloods who clothed themselves in garments doctored with phosphorus to scare Mississippi Negroes on their visits to a show boat. Often his daughters would urge him to write these stories down, but only a few times did he comply with their wishes.

Instead, he urged that Mary, in particular, write them. She never did, but reading—even Scott, Dickens, and George Eliot, and these new American authors, Bret Harte, and Mark Twain—soon palled. She read law, but with the knowledge that it could be to no immediate purpose. Fanny was more interested in music and the routine of house-work, but the younger girl often found time to "weigh heavy on her hands".[9] So father and daughter began to write some of these stories, and read them to family and friends. They were trivial pieces, essentially, but one of these small pieces was the first published work of Mary Noailles. Greatly daring, she mailed a little essay, "Flirts and their Ways," to the editor of *Lippincott's*. It appeared in May, 1874, under the name R. Emmet Dembry. If this pseudonym has any peculiar significance, I have been unable to discover what it was. A timorous girl desired some cloak to shield her from eyes that might stare rudely at immature work.

Mr. Dembry (as the editor addressed his new contributor) divided flirts into seven classes. The dictionary defines a flirt as "a young girl who acts with giddiness", but the dictionary is wrong, for a flirt "assumes such moods and characteristics as she deems most efficient in persuance of her designs, and plays a part with a verisimilitude which often deceives the most acute." Like early potatoes, there are several varieties of flirts: the dashing, the demure, the musical, the literary, the pious, the sympathetic, and the sentimental.

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[8] Charles Egbert Craddock, *Where the Battle Was Fought*,[2] Longstreet (New York, 1924).

[9] F. N. D. Murfree, Biography.

The dashing flirt appears to do heaviest execution. "She dances, rides and talks..her interest never flags, her tongue exemplifies perpetual motion, and her overflowing animal spirits are exhilarating as a sea-breeze..imperious and haughty..gentle or stern, coaxing or bullying, affectionate or cold, as her quick discrimination suggests." She waltzes with Captain Jones until that gallant officer almost faints with exhaustion, and plays croquet until Johnny Wilkins must tie white kerchiefs on the wickets, and hold a lamp for her to see—then take the blame for her misplays. On the water, she saucily tilts the boat from side to side, desires water-lilies in profusion and frequently turns the boat just enough to catapult her admiring swain into the water.

After these men have "been put through the mill," they turn naturally to the demure flirt, ever ready to catch hearts on the rebound. Miss Demureness blushes a great deal, affects downcast orbs which she sometimes lifts with great effect, and does the "poor oppressed" in telling manner. She is feminine, shuddering at the thought of "women's rights," and finding frequent opportunity to force young men to pat her hand and call her "my poor angel."

Close kin are the musical and literary flirts, but less successful. Prima donnas talking of *cantabile* and *fioriture, sostenuto* and *staccato,* are sometimes successful, as indeed are some young ladies who glibly quote Abercrombie's *Intellectual Philosophy* or tag phrases from the Latin. For such a young lady, "flirting material is rather scant, owing to the fact that numbers of young men are afraid of her". The pious flirt is far more formidable, with her sweet urgings to a certain young man that he forsake the pomps and vanities of this wicked world. Soon, if he is not careful, she will work complete regeneration of his soul. The sympathetic and sentimental flirts pursue their devious ways by open flattery, and "all is fish that comes to the net," and the hook is as carefully baited for the stickleback as for a magnificent salmon or trout.

So the game goes, from which few men escape. What can this wise commentator say, once these types are catalogued? "Like the almanac that chronicles the transcendent virtues of each variety of early potatoes, my trumpet gives forth an uncertain sound, and like the almanac I shake my head and sagely opine all are good and none are best. Yet something of moment I can impart. Not long since I heard a retired flirt of great brilliancy say that she had during a long and successful career adopted each *role* in turn, and if she could recall the years of misdirected zeal and energy, she would re-

duce her former elaborate *modus operandi* to the following simple regime. Buy a hogshead of prayer-books and do the pious flirt."[10]

The essay is of interest chiefly as it helps to explain Mary Noailles Murfree. She had looked on at many parties, with an observation feminine in keenness, yet partly masculine in other points of view. No social novice could catch such minute distinctions, and it seems probable that teachers at Chegaray, wise in such matters to the point that all Americans appeared naive, may have guided her attitude. Chegaray training shows also in her writing, for sprinkled casually and eruditely about are French and Italian phrases: *au contraire justement, bien aimee, in questo simplice,* and similar phrases. It was a manner worthy of any lady in the new cosmopolitan school of writers, a manner that fortunately she was soon to outgrow. Yet, for all its defects, this trivial essay reveals a keen wit, strong analytical powers, and capacity for minute scrutiny. This lady could see through the game that others played, and expose that game without malice but with pleasant irony.

She wrote other essays on similar subjects, giving them such catchy titles as "Young Beaus and Old Beaus," "The Importance of Belledom," "The Widow Indeed and the Other Widow." They were pleasant papers to read for the family's edification, good enough for Mr. Murfree to quarrel with her when she knitted, because a promising young writer should not waste in ordinary occupations a talent bestowed on few people. Once she threw her needles out the window, as sign of agreement or submission, but next day she searched until she found the needles. She cleaned the rust from them with bacon rind, and continued at intervals to knit, though usually she hid the work when her father was at home.[11]

Her father might praise such work, but Mary was not content. She desired to write novels and stories. Only one piece similar to "Flirts," and this more story than essay, was ever published. The others are lost, nor did she ever make any attempt to salvage them. That one story, "My Daughter's Admirers," appeared in *Lippincott's* for July, 1875. It does not possess the strength or the interest of the first essay, and the author's name has been shortened to R. E. Dembry, perhaps to avoid confusion of author with a character called Emmy.

As father, grandmama, papa, and son are engaged in a game of whist, two young gentlemen call on Miss Emmy. Father objects to

10 *Lippincott's,* May, 1874, pp. 629-635.
11 F. N. D. Murfree, Biography.

the character of the young men, but grandmama, intent on matrimony, defends them. The young lady entertains her callers, and the other young ladies, with son Rolf, retire for the evening. The head of the house remains, to muse over the various young men who call on his daughter. His wife fires one parting shot: "You cannot expect a girl of Emmy's age to give up society, settle down to be an old maid," because all her admirers seem to him inferior.

An old maid: "A dreadful thing, a shocking thing . . . anomaly in nature." No greater reproach can be levied against a woman. But Regulus, in the parlor, is handsome and dissipated, given to boasting of skill in the hunting field not matched by his exploits; Jack Olwell, also present, is merely a sycophant of the wealthy Regulus. Other beaus have come and gone: dismissed not because of his sound and weighty reasons, such as dissipation or dawdling, but on account of a snub nose or red face. No gentleman quite pleases her, though Mr. Sparkle takes off the Reverend Yawn-Your-Head-Off to such effect that next Sunday "the respected pastor seems to be burlesquing himself". And Mr. Crichton, who once was high in favor and who was reputed to read Greek tragedy, lost caste one picnic morning when Rolf, sent to round up the straggler, discovered that gentleman in the act of curling his beard with a pair of hot curling irons. None are worthy, he reflects, for a girl pretty, sprightly, and rich, and so he muses, until Emmy comes in. "Have they gone, at last? I thought they never would."[12]

It would be easy to make too much of this trifle, as it related to Mary, Fannie, and Mr. Murfree. For here are two daughters, twenty-five and twenty-nine, both old maids in a society that expected girls to marry young. There is a younger brother, not after all so many years too young, and a father almost slavishly devoted to his daughters, in story and in life. But one who writes of such incidents so lightly can hardly feel that an old maid is indeed an abomination to God and to man. It shows rather a contentment with family life that makes young men superfluous, though pleasant for dances and for picnics. And Mr. Murfree was a man of keen observation and considerable wit, not likely to play in life the role that he assigned to one father, in a story published in 1883.

> Now, the father of a young lady is at best a necessary evil. During all the stages of a love-affair he is adroit to a superhuman degree if he does not prove an intolerable bore, and he escapes annihilation only on the score of his ultimate

[12] *Lippincott's,* July, 1875, pp. 117-23.

> usefulness in drawing checks for the trousseau and conferring estates in the marriage-settlement. The proverb says, "Little boys should be seen, and not heard." Like little boys, fathers should not be heard; unlike little boys, fathers should not be seen. Young ladies consider little brothers and small boys generally a very inconvenient fraction of humanity, and frequently express the opinion that they should be, in some indefinite manner, isolated until they shall attain a marriageable age and become interesting for the first time since they escaped from long clothes. It is a little remarkable, that no proposition on the same principle has yet been made that when a young lady "comes out" her father should "go in"—be put to sleep with chloroform or freezing, and be kept in a state of suspended animation until the critical time shall arrive for him to fulfill his destiny by signing checks and marriage settlements.[13]

If the sketches can hardly be considered autobiographical, they can be regarded as certain indications of a new interest in life, one soon to absorb Mary completely. Brother Willie, recently graduated from the University of Nashville Law School, said enthusiastically that he would have given a thousand dollars to have written one of them. Trivial as literature, they were of boundless importance to one just trying her wings.

And one story, in the same issue that contained "My Daughter's Admirers," may well have changed the course of Mary's entire literary life. Rebecca Harding Davis, out of her Northern provincialism, contributed a story of North Carolina, "The Yares of the Black Mountains." In the story a visiting Northern lady meets the Yare family, typical mountaineers, whose dialect she cannot pretend to understand. Nor does she understand this new type. The Yares had not fought on either side, during the war, yet no man had ever questioned their courage. Even when threatened with arrest, these men were warned by a friendly officer, so that they might escape to more remote fastnessess in the mountains. The lady listens to the speech, hears the tales, and leaves—in wonder and admiration.[14]

Quite possibly this story meant nothing to the young Tennessean, writing surface sketches of a society which interested her but slightly. The probabilities are that she read with some wonder that a cultivated woman could not understand the dialect—which she knew so

[13] "Adrift on Pensacola Bay", in *Lippincott's*, May, 1883, p. 480.
[14] *Lippincott's*, July, 1875.

well—or understand the characters whom she understood better, and met with more ease, than any other persons. This may be supposition, but today it is hard to remember that, in 1875, almost no mountain fiction existed.

The first Tennessean to write of the Appalachian mountains was George Washington Harris. His humorous tales of mountain life, told by a "nat'ral born durn'd fool", Sut Lovingood,[15] are in most ways typical of the frontier humorists. But they differ from the stories of Judge Longstreet and other writers in one important aspect: when those gentlemen drew rascally or vulgar characters, they usually apologized, with a statement that "I should certainly omit such expressions as this could I do so with historic fidelity..In recording these things *as they are,* truth requires me.."[16] Harris makes no such apology. His humor is broad, unrefined, and frankly vulgar. His chief idea of wit is a crude practical joke related with infinite exaggeration, in a dialect more concerned with humorous possibilities than with accuracy. Yet his chief character is no clothes-horse, but a realized character, a "skeery, long-laiged," whiskey-drinking mountaineer, who burlesques such typical country gatherings as dances, weddings, funerals, and camp-meetings. Though a burlesque, these stories have vitality and life. For Harris had a rabelaisian gift for stringing together endless descriptive adjectives, for apt character portrayal, and above all, for wild yet appropriate similes. His stories did not pretend to represent mountain life. Sut Lovingood belongs directly in the tradition of the frontier humorists, with Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, Joseph Baldwin, and William Tappan Thompson. These humorists were in time to influence the local colorists, but generally that influence was indirect and tenuous, through such writers as Mark Twain and Bert Harte.

If they influenced Mary Noailles Murfree, that influence may well have come more directly. In that age of respectability, few ladies read the bawdy yarns of the Tennessee steamboat captain, or even of the Georgia judge. But Longstreet had long been a favorite of her father's and we know that her brother Willie often declared that Sut's feat of using a harnessed bull, and ten hives of bees, to break up the wedding feast of his once-beloved Sicily Burns, was one of the funniest tales in all literature. Surely, after this recommendation, Mary must have read at least parts of the book.[17]

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[15] G. W. Harris, *Sut Lovingood's Yarns* (New York, 1867).

[16] John D. Wade, *Augustus Baldwin Longstreet* (New York, 1924), (quoted in), 164.

[17] Personal statement of F. N. D. Murfree.

Little other work had been done. John B. Lamar, typical humorist in his *Polly Pearblossom's Wedding,* had written one Carolina story, "The Blacksmith of the Mountain Pass." The Blacksmith was sufficiently striking for Dickens to revise and use the story, with the title of "Col. Quagg's Convertion."[18] Another mountain story, this time of Virginia, was John Esten Cooke's "Peoney."[19] This was all, according to one who has made a careful study of the subject.[20] Certainly any other stories, before Mary Noailles Murfree wrote of the mountains, were few and unimportant. In 1877, one year before "The Dancing Party at Harrison's Cove" appeared, Frances Hodgson Burnett wrote a story of the North Carolina mountains,[21] but by that time Mary had begun to write about her own Tennessee mountains.

Already a new trend was apparent in literature. Before 1870 the dialect story rarely appeared in magazines, and then was "chiefly represented by New England rural tales and fishing-village sketches. The wild west was hardly in evidence, and there were not many war stories."[22] But new stars had rapidly risen. William Dean Howells controlled the *Atlantic,* and Bret Harte had received from his publishers the unprecedented offer of ten thousand dollars for whatever he might write in the ensuing twelve months.[23] Cable's stories of New Orleans life had begun to appear regularly. The mature Craddock was to be an integral part of this group. One short story, and one novel, really belonged to these Dembry days of her apprenticeship, though neither was published until other stories had made the name of Charles Egbert Craddock well-known. The novel was based directly on the life about her; the setting was the battle-field over which she rode, and the house a reproduction of old Grantland, destroyed in battle. The plot was based on a curious twist in the law, the interregnum allowed to those who had been "beyond the seas" during or after the Civil War. It was not published until 1884, after the appearance of *In The Tennessee Mountains,* and it was greatly revised. But it was submitted to *Lippincott's* under the name of R. E. Dembry, and rejected; it was submitted, also to Hurd & Houghton, with the earliest letter of which we have any record:

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18 M. L. Rutherford, *The South in History and Literature* (Atlanta, 1907), 309.

19 *Southern Literary Messenger,* January, 1852, pp. 289-296.

20 R. C. Beale, *Development of the Short Story in the South,* 75.

21 F. H. Burnett, "Lodusky," in *Scribner's,* September, 1877, pp. 673-687.

22 M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *The Atlantic Monthly and its Makers* (Boston, 1919), 52.

23 *Ibid,* 67.

Murfreesboro Tennessee.
February 19, 1877

Messrs. Hurd & Houghton
New York

Gentlemen:

I send by express today a Ms. novel entitled "Beyond the Seas" which I wish to submit to you for publication.

The story has, I think, a strong element of success in appealing directly to several large classes of readers. I desire to call your attention especially to the points of law involved in the plot which are so treated as to be peculiarly attractive to the profession—they are not, however, sufficiently prominent to detract from popularity with the general public.

The scene is laid in the South, in 1871—but no sectional feeling is manifested nor indication of any political bias. I have endeavored to give a vivid delineation of a state of society which is unique and interesting, with which I am very familiar, and which has not heretofore been portrayed. It is a new story on a new theme. It has been written and revised with the most laborious care and the utmost attention to detail, and I hope that upon examination you will feel disposed to undertake its publication.

Will you be so kind as to acknowledge the receipt of the Ms.

Yours truly

M. N. Murfree

P. O. Box 263.

The novel in its published form was so greatly revised that it need not be considered here. But the story, "Taking the Blue Ribbon at the Fair," was sold to *Appleton's Weekly* in 1876, and remained in their hands, although it was published for the first time in a paper-bound miscellany, *Appleton's Summer Book*, containing chiefly guides to travel, with a few stories, poems, and essays.

"Taking the Blue Ribbon" is a transitional story, bearing many marks of the neophyte, yet connecting integrally with her later mountain fiction. The setting is in Kildeer County, and the chief protagonists are mountaineers who live on the slope of Old Bear Mountain. Silas Hobbs, long, thin, slouchy, and ne'er-do-well, but once hero of a famous cavalry charge, has one ambition: to win the

blue ribbon, saddle and bridle offered for the best rider at the county fair. All the county men are for him, leagued against the "Towners" who carry off all honors, in politics as well as at the fair. Only Jacob Dicey among the mountaineers competes against him—and that young man is angered by his fruitless courtship of Cynthia Hobbs. In stern competition, nine town riders are eliminated; only one remains for the final test, after lunch. Jacob uses this opportunity to press his suit on Cynthia; offers, if she will elope with him, to withdraw from the final contest. When threatened with desertion in favor of a red haired rival, the girl yields, and the young couple departs for the cross-roads to seek Parson Jones. Mr. Hobbs disposes of his single rival, to discover triumph turned into ashes by his daughter's elopement. In company with many volunteer aids, he pursues, but too late. Soon, all realize, Cynthia will come home occasionally, but Mrs. Hobbs remarks that she "dunno how we would hev borne up under Cynthy's a-runnin' away like she done, ef it hedn't a-been fer that thar saddle an' bridle [n' takin' the blue ribbon at the County Fair.]"[24]

Judged by any standards, this story is far from successful. Unmindful of Poe's rule, perhaps completely ignorant of it, Mary had attempted to tell two stories in one. The real climax comes with the success of Jenks, and the pursuit afterward drags heavily to its anti-climax. But the story has value outside of itself, to one interested in the development of a young writer. Fumbling and clumsy as it is, the story none the less possesses most of the traits that were to distinguish, to mar as well as to mark, her later work. No foreign words or phrases obtrude here, although bountifully scattered among the earlier stories. As closely as she can possibly achieve it at this time, she writes the idiom of the mountaineer, and this idiom seems natural, native, and unforced. The setting, of mountain life and county fair, is described with close attention to detail. It was a fault of inexperience, to be remedied later, that setting and characters never quite fuse into one integral whole.

Of all these early stories, Miss Murfree reprinted in book form only "Taking the Blue Ribbon," which appeared in *The Mystery of Witch-Face Mountain*. The later version shows almost no revision, except in names of characters. Silas Hobbs becomes Jenks Hollis, and his family, of course, follows in that change; Jacob Dicey becomes Jacob Brice. There is no known reason for these changes.

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24 The clause in brackets was added to the story when it was published in *The Mystery of Witch-Face Mountain.*

In a few places, the dialect is modified to harmonize with her later ideas of mountain dialect—ef occasionally becomes ef'n, for instance —but these changes are small and immaterial.

Undoubtedly she wrote many other stories, to be rejected or torn up. Miss Fannie Murfree remembers that one other story was sold to *Appleton's Weekly* at the same time, but was never published by that magazine. She thinks that it may have appeared in some New England newspaper, but she has forgotten even the title. It does not greatly matter. Every writer must go through the probationary period, and his work would gleam far brighter if those early writings could be utterly destroyed. In Mary Murfree's case, we have enough to show that in four years she passed from polite tittle-tattle to reality, as she saw it, and to experiment with a technique that within a few years was to produce short stories unexcelled by other local colorists. Never again was the name of R. E. Dembry to grace a magazine cover: "The Blue Ribbon," sold under that name, appeared in 1880 under a new name, though one by that time already well-known: Charles Egbert Craddock.

THE ORIGINS OF THE NASHVILLE AND CHATTANOOGA RAILROAD

By S. J. Folmsbee

The first railroad actually completed in Tennessee was the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad, connecting the Cumberland River at Nashville, with the Tennessee at Chattanooga. Although the movement which eventually reached fruition in the completion of this line in 1854 was not initiated until about 1845, suggestions of such a road had been made as early as 1837. These early and abortive proposals were in response to the incorporation by the state of Georgia, in December, 1836, of the Western and Atlantic Railroad, to be constructed at state expense from the site of Atlanta to the Tennessee River, and to serve as an extension of other railroad lines already under construction or in prospect in that state.[1] The citizens of lower East Tennessee immediately became interested, and on March 25, 1837, a meeting was held at Ross Landing (Chattanooga), at which resolutions were adopted advocating the selection of Ross Landing as the terminus of the Georgia road, and also the extension of the line to Nashville and Louisville.[2]

Interest was also manifested in Georgia in the proposed extension to the Cumberland River. When Daniel Newman, the agent of the Georgia legislature, appealed to the Tennessee General Assembly of 1837-38 for the grant of a right of way in Tennessee for the Western and Atlantic, he included in his memorial the suggestion that it would be to the interest of Tennessee to construct a road from Nashville to connect with it at the Tennessee River.[3] Some time later, however, he intimated in a letter to Governor Newton Cannon, that it would be easier for Nashville to obtain access to the Georgia system by constructing a road more directly southward to the Alabama line and thence to the Tennessee River at Ditto Landing, and by using the river from that point to the proposed terminus of the Western and Atlantic at Ross Landing.[4]

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1 U. B. Phillips, *History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt New* York, 1908), 308-310.

2 *Knoxville Register,* Apr. 12, 1837.

3 *Tenn. House Jour.,* Appx., 1837-38, p. 874.

4 Newman to Cannon, Oct. 16, 1838, Governors' Papers (Cannon), Tenn. State Library.

These suggestions, it seems, elicited no response on the part of the citizens of Nashville. Middle Tennesseans at that time were more interested in the construction of macadamized turnpikes than in experimenting with a type of improvement of such doubtful expediency as a railroad, and were devoting their energies under the state aid laws of 1836 and 1838 to the construction of a series of turnpikes radiating from Nashville. Soon the prolonged depression which followed the panic of 1837 cast a blight over the whole subject of internal improvements and created in Tennessee a wave of reaction against what was regarded as the reckless squandering of public funds upon fruitless undertakings. Not only were the railroad enterprises begun in East and West Tennessee driven into bankruptcy, but work of construction on the Georgia system of roads was also indefinitely suspended. Consequently, the idea of extending the Georgia system from the Tennessee River to Nashville slumbered peacefully, except for spasmodic expressions of interest along the route,[5] until reawakened in 1845 by the voices of two prominent citizens of Nashvile, A. O. P. Nicholson and Dr. James Overton.

This revival of interest in the Nashville and Chattanooga connection, although aided considerably by the recovery from the depression, was largely induced, as was the case with the original proposal, by news of railroad activities in Georgia. The Georgia railroad program, initiated in the boom years of 1835-1836, was designed largely to carry forward the efforts already begun by South Carolina to establish a rail connection between the Atlantic seaboard and the Mississippi Valley. The South Carolina Railroad had been in operation since 1833 between Charleston and the Savannah River at Hamburg, opposite the thriving Georgia town of Augusta. The Georgia legislature, therefore, had incorporated the Georgia Railroad and Banking Company for the purpose of extending this line to the Tennessee River. This plan had been modified in 1836-37, however, by the diversion of the Georgia Railroad route in the direction of the Chattahoochie River near the present site of Atlanta, where it was to be joined by another railroad line coming from the Georgia seaport of Savannah. From Atlanta, the Western and Atlantic Railroad was designed as an extension of both of these prongs to the Tennessee River at Ross Landing. After a temporary suspension caused by the depression, work was vigorously renewed on this system of roads in 1843-44. The Georgia Railroad was completed

[5] See memorial from citizens of Bedford and Coffee counties, Tenn. Archives (Petitions and Memorials, 1839-40); also *H. Jr.*, 1843-44, Nov. 6, (Resolution by Mr. Morrow).

to Atlanta in the fall of 1845, and by this time the line from Savannah, under construction by the Central of Georgia and Monroe companies, had approached within twenty miles of this junction point. After a reorganization of the Monroe Company under the new name of Macon and Western, this gap was closed during the next year. Meanwhile, work had been resumed by the state of Georgia on the Western and Atlantic in the direction of the Tennessee River. By the close of 1845, about eighty miles of the road was in operation, and the remainder under contract. On December 1, 1849, the road was placed in operation from Atlanta to Chattanooga, with the exception of a tunnel in Northern Georgia. This tunnel was completed and uninterrupted transportation established in May, 1850.[6]

The rapid approach of the South Carolina-Georgia system of railroads toward the borders of Tennessee naturally aroused interest throughout the state in the possibility of constructing lines designed to establish a connection with it. Nashville was no exception. One of the first Nashvillians to take a definite and open stand in favor of the extension of the Western and Atlantic road to the Cumberland River was the editor of the *Nashville Union*, A. O. P. Nicholson. His position, as the editor of the leading Democratic organ in the state, was an especially favorable one in which to draw public attention to the subject; and his own political prominence, as well as his intimate connection with the initiation of the State Aid System of 1837-38, made certain that his words would receive a respectful hearing.

In his first reference to the subject, in the editorial columns of the *Union* of February 6, 1845, he admitted that he expected the suggestion of a railroad to connect the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers to be received with surprise, in view of the antagonism toward internal improvements which had developed as a result of the disastrous consequences of the mania which had hit Tennessee, as well as other states, about 1835. He expressed the opinion, however, that the public mind was recovering from the shock; and he prophesied that the forth-coming report of the legislative committee appointed to investigate the internal improvement companies of the state would reveal that Middle Tennessee had no cause to regret the public and private funds expended in the construction of turnpikes in that section. Furthermore, it would cause the people in the extreme ends of the state to take steps to obtain similar benefits from expenditures on

[6] Phillips, *op. cit., passim;* R. S. Cotterhill, "Southern Railroads and Western Trade," *Miss Valley Hist. Rev.*, III, 427-441; *Amer. Railroad Journal*, xv, 238. xvii, 267; *Charleston Courier*, Dec. 8, 1849; *Nashville True Whig*, May 16, 1850.

internal improvement. In regard to the Nashville and Chattanooga project, he declared that a railroad connection with Charleston, South Carolina, would be a great benefit to the farmers of Middle Tennessee in that it would enable them to import and export through the same channel, instead of being required to export their surplus to New Orleans and to import practically everything they needed, except groceries, from Philadelphia.

A few weeks later Nicholson reported that although Nashville still remained indifferent to the proposition, he had observed a "deep and growing solicitude" on the subject in the intervening country between Nashville and Chattanooga. He also commented that there were signs of an awakening of the people of East Tennessee to a realization of the benefits they would derive from the completion of the Western and Atlantic Railroad to the Tennessee River.[7] In April he was able to express his gratification that even in Nashville he no longer stood "solitary and alone" in his advocacy of a railroad from Nashville to Chattanooga—that "some of our citizens of wealth and intelligence are discussing the subject in private circles and they find it readily exciting an interest."[8]

In fact, it was not long before the subject was attracting sufficient public attention to compel other newspapers in the city to allot some space for its discussion. Beginning in June, the *Nashville Whig* began the publication of a series of articles by a correspondent writing over the signature, "Viator," describing his journey over the South Carolina-Georgia system of roads, commenting on the prosperity which the roads seemed to create in regions through which they passed, and advocating the extension of the lines to Nashville.[9] Moreover, the news that Memphis was again becoming interested in the possibility of a rail connection with Charleston, as was evidenced by the calling of a commercial convention to be held in that city on July 4, created some apprehension in Nashville. It was forcibly called to the attention of Nashville merchants that if this Memphis-Charleston connection should be established it would draw off a large portion of the trade of the southern counties of Middle Tennessee, which at that time was monopolized by the city on the Cumberland.[10] Thus it was time for the people of Nashville to bestir themselves.

Although the publicity given the subject by editor Nicholson was of immeasurable importance in initiating the movement for the

[7] *Nashville Union*, Mar. 18, 1845.
[8] *Ibid*, Apr. 3, 1845.
[9] *Nashville Whig*, June 17, 1845, and following. The articles were reprinted in the *Whig's* weekly edition, called the *Politician*.
[10] *Nashville Whig*, Apr. 29, 1845; Nashville *Politician*, May 2, 1845.

Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad, its influence was equaled if not surpassed by the work of another citizen of Nashville, an eminent physician by the name of Dr. James Overton. Dr. Overton has with justice been called the father of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad. During the summer of 1845, he presented himself as a candidate for the office of state senator from Davidson county, and he waged his campaign on the issue of the construction of a railroad from Nashville to Chattanooga.[11] Overton's candidacy was vigorously supported by Nicholson in the editorial columns of the *Union;* and their combined attack upon the position taken by the Whig candidate, John Trimble, succeeded at last in breaking the studied silence with which the editor of the *Nashville Whig* up to that time had viewed the railroad project.

Instead of flatly opposing the undertaking, the Whig editor attempted to claim that the *Whig,* and also Mr. Trimble, were more sincerely in favor of the road than the *Union.* He quoted from the Democratic organ an editorial comment opposing a proposition made by one of its correspondents that the state of Tennessee subscribe $500,000 to the project; and he cited this as proof that the editor of the *Union* was only "generally" in favor of the construction of the road. "So are we," the editorial continued, "so is everybody in this region that we have heard speak on the subject." The *Whig* he stated, would go further and advocate the "most liberal charter for that purpose that could be granted, consistent with the public interests" and as soon as it was certain that the Western and Atlantic road would terminate at Chattanooga, it would advocate an appropriation by the legislature for the survey of the route.[12]

The Whig candidate, himself, however, was much more cautious than his editorial proponent. In his "True Position", printed in the same issue of the Whig, Trimble denied that he was opposed to the *construction* of the road, declaring that he had said that he thought it *prudent,* before embarking on an undertaking of such magnitude and expense, to await the completion of the Western and Atlantic to Chattanooga, and the prosecution of a survey to determine whether it would be possible without ruinous cost to surmount the serious natural obstacle in the way, the Cumberland Mountain. He also insisted that no information had been furnished which would indicate that rail transportation was cheaper than water transportation, or that Charleston would be a better market than New Orleans.

11 J. B. Killibrew and J. M. Safford in their *Introduction to the Resources of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1874) erroneously dated this Overton campaign, 1843.
12 *Nashville Whig,* June 24, 1845.

Finally, he declared "most emphatically," that he "did oppose, and would oppose, the attempt to make the State of Tennessee issue *her* bonds towards this measure," because "her bonds were now issued and outstanding for $3,000,000 and a fraction," and it was not in his opinion, "prudent to increase her liabilities." He had no objection, however, to the granting of a charter for the construction of the road "by individual capitalists."

In reply to Trimble's declaration against state aid, Overton and Nicholson attempted to disarm the opposition by asserting that the proposition would be sufficiently attractive to the holders of the large surplus of capital in Middle Tennessee to make the aid of the state unnecessary; and the doubts of Trimble and others as to the feasibility of constructing a railroad over the Cumberland Mountains were soon to be answered, at least in part, by the bi-ennial report of the state geologist, Dr. Gerard Troost. As a result of the rapid growth of interest in this railroad project, Troost had been induced to vary the program of his geological survey and to direct his investigations to the region lying between Nashville and Chattanooga with a view to determining the feasibility of a railroad, as well as the extent of the mineral resources along the route. Thus the advocates of the undertaking were placed in possession of something in the nature of a preliminary survey.

Although this geological report[13] was not printed until after the legislature had convened in October, 1845, Overton obtained an interview with Troost soon after the geologist's arrival in Nashville, and made extensive use of the results of his researches in the preparation of a speech which he delivered before a railroad meeting in Nashville, in the midst of the senatorial campaign, on July 3, 1845. In this address,[14] after some general remarks concerning the superiority of railroads as a means of travel and transportation, and some statistics as to the distance from Charleston to Nashville and the large portion of the road already constructed or under construction in South Carolina and Georgia, Overton turned his attention to the feasibility of the smaller portion of the route in Tennessee for which provision had not yet been made. Referring to his interview with Troost, he asserted that the geologist had informed him that a route could be selected between Chattanooga and Murfreesboro over which a railroad could be constructed more cheaply than from Murfreesboro to Nashville, except for a section of five miles over a spur of the Cumberland Mountain, through which there existed a deep gap

[13] *H. Jr., Appx.*, 1845-46, pp. 65-75.

[14] Overton's address was reported in great detail in the *Nashville Union*, July 17, 1845.

seemingly designed for a railroad. He estimated that the total cost of construction from Nashville to Chattanooga would not be more than $1,300,000, or about $10,000 per mile.

Overton then exhibited a specimen of coal which Troost had brought back with him from what he considered an inexhaustible mine located near the terminus of the route on the Tennessee River. The transportation of this coal would not only insure a profit to the stockholders of the railroad company, he asserted, but the cheapness with which it could be sold in Nashville would result in the development of that city into one of the manufacturing centers of America.

Another advantage which would result from the construction of the road, according to Overton, would be the enhancement of the value of real estate along the route by at least fifty percent. Even the value of the stock of the turnpike companies would be increased, for the railroad would bring increased business to the turnpikes connecting with it. He then referred to the inadequacy of New Orleans as a market, in that it could be reached only when the "casualties of season" permitted, and always behind the produce of the states on the Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio rivers. With the completion of the railroad, the produce of Middle Tennessee, instead of passing over 2460 miles of dangerous navigation with heavy insurance and many transshipments, would reach Charleston or Savannah in twenty-eight hours, without danger or insurance, at one-fifth the cost and in one-tenth the time. Imports could also be obtained from New York in eighty-eight hours. The saving which would result, he said, would build two such roads.

As a further indication of the profitable nature of investments in railroad stock, Overton quoted from the latest report of the Georgia Railroad Company. "Railroads *create* the business they thrive upon"; and from the *Merchants Magazine,* "It is the nature of railroads to multiply commercial transactions through the facilities they offer, and to *create business where none existed before*—so that a line which scarcely pays its expenses the first year of its existence, must in a few years become extremely lucrative." He showed that this was the case with the Georgia roads, which, although still unfinished, were already yielding a profit of 6%. The experience of Georgia had completely invalidated the sage conclusions of certain wiseacres who had held that railroads could be successfully and profitably maintained only in the North, or in the vicinity of large and populous cities.

Although slightly over-optimistic and somewhat open to the charge of exaggeration, this address was very effective in stimulating interest in the project, and not only received favorable comment even in the opposition press, but attracted attention in regions as far removed as Charleston, South Carolina. On October 4, 1845, a meeting was held in Charleston for the purpose of selecting delegates to attend the November session of the Southern and Western Commercial Convention at Memphis, and in the resolutions adopted Charleston responded enthusiastically to the efforts under way in both Memphis and Nashville to establish rail connections with the South Carolina - Georgia system of roads. One of the resolutions specifically tendered the thanks of the city to Overton for the "zeal he has manifested" in regard to the Nashville and Charleston project, and for the "able and eloquent exposition in his address of the great public benefits to be derived."[15]

A few days after printing the proceedings of this Charleston meeting, the *Nashville Whig* recurred to the subject again, this time reprinting an editorial from the *Charleston Courier* strongly eulogistic of Overton's speech and quoting extensively from it. The same issue reprinted a letter from F. H. Elmore, a prominent South Carolina politician, to a citizen of Nashville, enlarging upon the advantages which would result from a rail connection between Charleston and Nashville.[16] Finally, the *Nashville Banner,* a Whig organ which had hitherto been silent on the subject, joined the ranks of the Nashville newspapers in advocacy of a railroad between Nashville and Chattanooga. The *Banner's* editorial page read in part as follows:[17]

> When the project of the extension of the Georgia railroad from its present terminus, not far from Chattanooga, through that place to Nashville, was discussed during the past summer by a portion of the newspapers of the State and by some of our public speakers, we were disposed, from slight examination, to view it with indifference, if not with feelings of opposition. We were inclined to doubt both its practicability and expediency, and to believe that it would at least prove detrimental to the interests of our growing and beautiful city, and have a tendency to check its prosperity, if not to destroy it altogether. The reasons for this opinion it is not necessary to give, especially, as after a more thorough examination, which we have recently bestow-

[15] *Nashville Whig,* Oct. 16, 1845.
[16] *Ibid,* Oct. 21, 1845.
[17] *Nashville Banner,* Oct. 25, 1845

> ed upon the subject, we have arrived at a different conclusion. We have now but little doubt that the extension of the Georgia and South Carolina Railroad to Nashville is not only practicable, but that, if made in connection with the improvement of the Cumberland to its mouth by means of locks and dams, it would prove a great advantage to our town and to the state.

It is significant that these Whig papers postponed the printing of these eulogies of Overton's address and the endorsement of his project until after Overton, as the Democratic candidate for the State Senate, had been safely defeated in the August election. Another influence contributing to the more general and vigorous support in the press of both parties of the Nashville and Chattanooga railroad project was the wide publicity being given to the second session of the Commercial Convention to be held in Memphis in November. At this convention, which was to be representative of most of the southern and western states, and which was to be presided over by John C. Calhoun, the subject of an Atlantic and Mississippi Railroad was to be one of the major topics of discussion.[18] Memphis was earnestly pressing its claims as the most logical western terminus of the proposed line, and the citizens of Nashville were becoming increasingly apprehensive as to the possible results of such a development. At a meeting held in Nashville on October 22, a large delegation, headed by Overton, was appointed to represent the interests of Nashville and Davidson county at Memphis; and this group was later joined by a delegation of ten members of the legislature. Plans were also initiated for a convention to be held at Nashville shortly after the adjournment of the Memphis meeting, in the interest of the Nashville and Chattanooga extension.[19]

There the foundations were well laid for an application to the General Assembly of 1845-46, already in session, for the incorporation of a company to construct the road; and if care should still be maintained to avoid any suggestion of state aid, the application would have an excellent chance of meeting with success. Both the retiring and incoming governors, James C. Jones and Aaron V.

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[18] St. George L. Sioussat, "Memphis as a Gateway to the West," in *Tenn. Hist. Mag.*, III, 77-114.

[19] *Nashville Whig*, Oct. 23, 1845; *Nashville Union*, Oct. 28, Nov. 8, 11, 1845. The list of delegates (30) also included John Bell, E. H. Foster, V. K. Stevenson, and R. J. Meigs. The legislative delegation, which included the names of J. A. Whiteside, V. Sevier, and W. G. McAdoo, was instructed to invite the leading figures at the Memphis convention, particularly Calhoun, to attend also the subsequent meeting in Nashville.

Brown, referred to the subject in their messages; and although they both vigorously opposed the appropriation of any state funds, they expressed themselves in favor of the granting of a liberal charter of incorporation. Governor Brown, of the Democratic party, however, was more earnest in his advocacy of the proposition than his Whig predecessor. He expressed the opinion that the Georgia system should be extended to both Memphis and Nashville, and stated that he should regret to witness any spirit of rivalry develop between the two projects. In regard to the Nashville road, he said that "the practicability of its construction at a cost of about two millions of dollars, is now almost universally conceded." After a review of some of the advantages which he believed would result, he closed with an "earnest recommendation that a most liberal and judicious charter be granted to individuals for its construction."[20]

A few days before the presentation of this message by Governor Brown the House Committee on Internal Improvements had brought forward a bill for the incorporation of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad Company, prepared by James A. Whiteside, a Whig member from Hamilton county.[21] While this measure was under consideration by the legislature, the commercial conventions already referred to were being held at Memphis and Nashville. At the Memphis convention, a notable gathering of some six or seven hundred delegates in session from November 12 to November 15, the subject of a railroad from Nashville to Chattanooga was considered as only one phase of the larger subject of establishing a rail connection between the Atlantic seaboard and the Mississippi Valley. The Nashville delegations had feared that some conflict might develop in case any attempts were made to "concentrate public opinion and action on any one line to the disparagement and injury of others;" but this was not the case. The report of the railroad committee, presented by Colonel James Gadsden of South Carolina, advocated the extension of the South Carolina-Georgia system of roads to both Nashville and Memphis; and the resolution of the convention advocating the establishment of an Atlantic-Mississippi highway was so phrased as to avoid the designation of any particular route. The legislative delegation from Tennessee was therefore able to report to the General Assembly that this policy "leaves all sections and interests in our state, as well as others, free to enter the lists of useful and honorable competition for the accomplishment of works which must be of incalculable advant-

[20] *H. Jr.*, 1845-6, Oct. 10, Nov. 7, 1845.
[21] *Ibid.*, Nov. 3, 1845; *Nashville Union*, Nov. 6, 29, 1845.

age, not only to the sections embracing them, but to the whole South and West."[22]

Although the Memphis convention was of great benefit to the Nashville and Chattanooga railroad project in that it stimulated interest in the general proposition of a rail connection between the Atlantic and the Mississippi Valley, the subsequent convention in Nashville, held on November 24 and 25, was of more direct influence because its proceedings were devoted exclusively to the subject of a railroad between the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers.

At this convention there assembled about 150 delegates from seven counties of Middle and East Tennessee, in addition to numerous members of the legislature, two delegates from South Carolina, and one from Mobile. The proceedings were marked by the introduction of evidence corroborating the conclusions of Troost, the state geologist, as to the feasibility of the construction of a railroad from Nashville to Chattanooga. This was in the form of a report presented by Judge Nathan Greene of an actual instrumental survey of the route under the direction of Dr. Estil of Winchester. The convention adopted a series of resolutions advocating the construction of the road and recommending to the legislature that it grant a liberal charter in which provision should be made for an early survey and location of the route. A. O. P. Nicholson, James Overton and J. A. Whiteside were appointed as a committee to prepare an address to the people.[23]

On November 26, 1845, the day after the adjournment of the Nashville convention, Whiteside's bill for the incorporation of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad Company was passed by the House of Representatives by the overwhelming vote of 54 to 9. On December 9, it was passed by the Senate with several important amendments, by a vote of 20 to 4. One of the four votes in opposition was cast by John Trimble, the Whig Senator from Davidson county, despite his promise, given during his campaign against Overton, to support a charter of incorporation.[24]

[22] Sioussat, *loc. cit.; Journal of the Proceedings of the South-western Convention* (Memphis, 1845). Good accounts of the convention are to be found in the *Memphis Eagle,* Nov. 13-20, 1845, and *Nashville Whig,* Nov. 22-25, 1845. The report of the railroad committee was printed in *DeBow's Review,* January, 1846; and that of the Tennessee legislative delegation in the *Nashville Whig,* Nov. 22, 1845.

[23] *Nashville Whig,* Nov. 25, 27, 1845. The counties represented were Davidson, Rutherford, Smith, Warren, Giles, Franklin and Hamilton. The South Carolina delegates were Major Black and Colonel Trescott. Mr. Lewis Troost, the son of Dr. Troost, attended as a representative of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad Co., of which he was chief engineer. Judge Nathan Greene presided and Dr. Overton delivered the opening address.

[24] *H. Jr.,* 1845-46, Nov. 26, 1845; *Sen. Jr.,* Dec. 9, 1845.

In the debate on the bill, the only controversies which developed were in regard to the provisions in the House measure giving the company the right to acquire coal lands within ten miles of the road, and exempting the capital stock from taxation forever, and the rails and other property for thirty years. Both provisions were struck out by the Senate, and the House was eventually forced to concur with regard to the coal lands. A committee of conference, however, worked out a compromise regarding the taxation dispute which provided for permanent exemption for the capital stock, but reduced the period of exemption for rails and other property to twenty years. Despite the failure to grant the right to purchase coal lands, the *Union* commented that the charter was a liberal one and expressed gratification at its passage. Thus the first battle for the road was won.[25]

It is probably true that a study of the origins of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad should close with the incorporation of the company; and a precedent for such a procedure exists in the the fact that most of the supporters of the project in 1845 ended their efforts at that point. Many, who had been enthusiastic in their agitation for the road, suddenly became very lukewarm when asked to subscribe for stock in the company and pay down fifty cents a share as evidence of good faith. Fortunately, this was not the case with all; and it will be necessary, therefore, to say a few words regarding the heroic efforts of those few who were largely responsible for carrying the project forward to a successful completion.

Two major obstacles interfered with the sale of stock by the commissioners appointed under the charter of incorporation. One was the receipt of disquieting news from Georgia to the effect that the governor and legislature of that state had refused to make any further appropriation of funds for the extension of the Western and Atlantic Railroad. For two years the extension of this road in the direction of Chattanooga was dependent entirely upon the earnings of that part of the road already in operation. Naturally, the work of construction proceeded with snail-like slowness, and many doubted that it would ever reach the Tennessee River. Tennesseans were therefore hesitant about investing their money in a Tennessee project which was to be merely an extension of the Western and Atlantic road beyond Chattanooga. Stimulated, however, by the progress being made by the Nashville and Chattanooga undertaking,

[25] *H. Jr.*, 1845-46, Dec. 10, 1845; *Nashville Whig*, Dec. 12, 1845; *Nashville Union*, Dec. 16, 1845. The charter may be found in *Pub. Acts*, 1845-6, pp. 17-26, The legislature also adopted a joint resolution asking Alabama to grant the company the right of way for the portion of the route which would lie within the bounds of that state. *Ibid.*, 340.

the Georgia Legislature, in 1847, finally appropriated $375,000 for the completion of the Western and Atlantic, and thereby set at rest all doubts as to its eventual completion to the Tennessee.[26]

The other obstacle was the hesitancy of Tennessee capitalists to invest in the stock of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad before there was available some reliable data as to the actual cost of the work, such as would be provided by a definitive survey and location of the route. Consequently, it was difficult to collect enough money even to finance a survey. The board of commissioners named in the charter met on December 16, effected a temporary organization under the chairmanship of Dr. Overton, and made preparations for the opening of subscription books on January 1, 1846. They met again on January 19 and completed a more permanent organization with the election of Dr. Overton as president, J. J. Gill as vice-president, and A. O. P. Nicholson as secretary.[27] The public response to the opening of subscription books, however, was very disappointing, and it was not until May 1 that enough subscriptions had been obtained to justify the employment of a surveyor.[28]

A Vernon K. Stevenson was then delegated to visit South Carolina and Georgia for the purpose of selecting a competent engineer; and he obtained the services of J. Edgar Thomson, a Pennsylvanian, who had been employed by the Georgia Railroad Company as superintendent of construction, and who was later to attain fame and fortune as president of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Thomson completed his survey by the close of the year; and his report, including a definite location of the road, was printed the following March. The report was favorable, indeed. The engineer declared that the route was more favorable for a railroad than any other which had been proposed for the connection of the Atlantic with the valley of the Mississippi. By the selection of a route dipping down through a corner of Alabama, the Cumberland Mountain could be obviated easily with a maximum elevation of about half of that which had been overcome in the construction of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Only one short tunnel would be necessary. He estimated the total cost of contruction at $2,810,000. As to the possibility of profit, he declared that if a Georgia road passing through what was in comparison with the route of the Nashville and Chattanooga "a barren waste," could make six percent on the investment, without

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26 Phillips, *op. cit.*, 316-18; *Nashville Union*, Nov. 29, Dec. 16, 1845.

27 *Nashville Union*, Dec. 18, 1845, Jan. 22, 1846.

28 *Ibid.*, May 2, 1846.

the advantage of coal along the line, there should exist no doubt of the profitable nature of an investment in the Tennessee project.[29]

Spurred on by the favorable nature of the Thomson report, the board of commissioners redoubled their efforts; and early in the summer of 1847 they took a very wise step in appointing ex-Governor James C. Jones and V. K. Stevenson as agents to solicit subscriptions. It was largely through their influence that the city council of Nashville was induced in July to subscribe on behalf of the city for $500,000 in the stock of the company.[30] The next month Stevenson started out on a whirlwind campaign for subscriptions which was so successful that he deserves to rank with Overton and Nicholson as one of the fathers of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad. He addressed enthusiastic meetings, not only along the line of the road, but in South Carolina and Georgia; and his transcending eloquence melted the hearts and opened the pockets of his hearers and brought forth a veritable rainstorm of subscriptions. By the close of the year $1,200,000 had been subscribed, and it was at last possible to complete the organization of the company. The first meeting of the stockholders was held on January 24, 1848; a board of directors was elected; and this board, in recognition of the invaluable services of Stevenson, elected him as the first president of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad Company.[31]

It is a tribute to the ability of Stevenson that he was able to retain this position until near the close of the Civil War. It was under his skillful and energetic guidance that the road was actually constructed and put into successful operation. The work of construction was started at the Cumberland Mountain tunnel, not far from Winchester, in August, 1848; and on February 22, 1851, the company celebrated, with appropriate ceremony, "knocking the daylight" through the Cumberland Mountain. The first train was run on April 9, 1851, from Nashville to Antioch, nine miles distant; and in February, 1854, the road was opened all the way from Nashville to Chattanooga.[32]

Despite the promises, however, of the original advocates of the project that the road would be built without the aid of the state, the company was compelled several times to ask the state to come

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[29] *Ibid.*, Nov. 10, 1846, Mar. 11, 1847. The Thomson report was also printed in pamphlet form, a copy of which is in the Tennessee State Library.

[30] *Nashville Union*, July 14, 1847.

[31] *Proceedings of the First General Meeting of the Stockholders of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad Company.*

[32] *The Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Nashville, Chattanooga and St. Louis Railway* (Nashville, 1923).

to the rescue. On three separate instances the Tennessee legislature responded to the fervent appeals of President Stevenson, and authorized the indorsement by the state of a total of $1,500,000 of the bonds of the company.[33] These bonds were all paid off by the company, however, and the state was never called upon to make good its indorsement. The Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad therefore, has the honor, not only of being the first railroad completed in the state, but also of being the only Tennessee railroad to which the state government rendered aid without suffering some financial loss as a result.

[33] *Public Acts,* 1847-48, pp. 272-5; 1851-52, p., 213; 1853-54, p, 207. The subscriptions of the city of Charleston of $500,000 and of the Georgia Railroad Co. of $250,000, in addition to the $500,000 subscribed by Nashville, and smaller subscriptions by other Tennessee towns, were of considerable assistance in financing the construction of the road.

WRITINGS ON TENNESSEE HISTORY, 1933*

Compiled by Laura E. Luttrell

Ackerley, Mrs. Mary Denham. The Tennessee Jeters. (In her "Our Kin." 1930. p. 448-454)

Acklen, Mrs. Jeanette Tillotson, comp. Tennessee records. Tombstone inscriptions and manuscripts, historical and biographical. Nashville, Tenn., Cullom & Ghertner, 1933. 2v. [Mrs. Acklen was assisted by Kate White, Lenora West Bowen and Emma Allensworth Darden]

Alexander, T. H. The happy hunting ground, Roosevelt's new deal for the Tennessee Valley. (Country gent. Dec. '33. v. 103: 14-15, 52. illus.) [Contains sketch of H. A. Morgan]

Appalachian trail conference. Report of Fifth annual meeting held at Gatlinburg, Tennessee, June 12, 13, and 14, 1931. Wash. D. C. Pub. no. 2. 8 p.

ATHENS. Sharp, J. M. Recollections & hearsays of Athens. [Athens, Tenn., Author, 1933] 78 p.

Ball, Palmer R. The Ball family of southwest Virginia. Big Laurel, Va., The Cumberlandcrafters, 1933. 30 p. illus., ports., map. [Deals in part with the family of Moses Ball, pioneer of Hawkins County]

Bar association of Tennessee. Report of Committee on a Supplement to a history of the Association. (Bar assoc. of Tenn. Proceedings. 1931. v. 50: 118-126) [Chairman: W. B. Swaney]

Beard, William, E. Nashville, the home of history makers. Nashville, Tenn., The Civitan club, 1929. 93 p.

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Beeson, Mrs. Leola Selman. Homes of distinguished Cherokee Indians. (Chron. of Okla. Sept. '33. v. 11: 927-941. illus.) [Describes the homes of Chiefs David McNair and Peter Hildebrand in Tennessee]

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Brooks, Addie Lou. Early plans for railroads in West Tennessee, 1830-1845. (Tenn. hist. mag. ser. 2, v. 3: 20-39) [Part of a thesis (M.A.) at Vanderbilt University]

Burgess, John W. A civil war boyhood. (Atlan. mo. Feb.-Mar. '33. v. 151: 196-204, 361-368)

Cambiare, Celestin Pierre. Le Roi Louis-Philippe aux Etats-Unis: son voage au Tennessee et au Kentucky, ses dons a Bardstown. Paris, Pub. by the Comite France-Amerique, 1933.

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——. Mooney, James. The Swimmer manuscript. Cherokee sacred formulas and medical prescriptions. Ed. by Frans M. Olbrechts. Wash., D. C. 1932. xvii, 319 p. ports., facsims. (Bureau of Amer. eth. Smithsonian institution. Bul. 99)

*A few items published before 1933 and not previously listed are included.

——. Story, I. F. Our eastern Cherokee Indians. (in Home geog. mo. Dec. '32. v. 2: 7-12. illus., ports.)

Claybrooke, Thomas W. Diary of travels from Virginia to Tennessee, 1832. (Wm. & Mary col. qr. July '33. ser. 2, v. 13: 163-169) [Contrib. by M. H. Harris]

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Cotterill, Robert Spencer. Federal Indian management in the South, 1789-1825. (Miss. Valley hist. rev. 1933. v. 20: 333-352)

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Davenport, Walter. Promised land. (Colliers. Jne. 3, '33. v. 91: 12-13, 36-38. illus.) [Tennessee Valley]

DAVIS. Hamill, H. M. The boy hero of Tennessee. (Confed. vet. 1932. v. 40: 428-431, port.) [Sketch of Sam Davis]

DAYTON. Harrison, C. Y. (in his Clarence Darrow. 1931. p. 294-307. ports.)
[Sketch of the town of Dayton]

DIXON. Young, S. M. Major Tilman Dixon. (Tenn. hist. mag. ser. 2, v. 2: 207-215)

DOAK. Windrow, J. E. The first teacher of the great southwest. (Peabody reflector. July '33. v. 6: 213-216) [Sketch of Samuel Doak]

——. (Washington college bul. Nov. '32. v. 9. 1-9) [Sketch of Samuel Doak]

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THE EXECUTIVE JOURNAL OF GOVERNOR JOHN SEVIER

EDITED BY SAMUEL C. WILLIAMS

(Continued from
The East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications)

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the the Senate, and
Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:[1]

It is with peculiar satisfaction I have the honor this day of meeting your august body in this House, where I have the pleasure of informing you, the State is blessed with peace and quietude, the fields of the husbandman are abundantly supplied with the fruits of the earth, our harvests have yielded to the labourer ample satisfaction for his toils, and the crops of grain are equally proportionate.

The laws and regular decorum, so far as they have come within my knowledge, I have reason to believe are duly observed and supported throughout the government. Emigration and population is daily increasing, and I have no doubt, under the propitious hand of Providence, your patronage, the wise and wholesome laws you in your wisdom may think proper to enact, that our State will become more and more respectable and conspicuous, and the Citizens enjoy all that happiness and comfort this human life in an ordinary course will afford them. The poor and distressed claim the first share of your deliberations, and I have not the smallest doubt your attention will be duly directed to that and every other object of worthy legislative consideration. Among other things, Gentlemen, permit me again to remind you, that the landed estates of your constituents in general appear to be verging on to a precarious and doubtful situation, and should a timely interference be neglected, it may become a subject of

[1] The Third General Assembly of the State of Tennessee met on Monday, September 16, 1799. Alexander Outlaw, of the Senatorial district composed of the counties of Jefferson and Cocke, was elected Speaker of the Senate. William Dickson, of Davidson county, was chosen Speaker of the House of Representatives. Without opposition, John Sevier was re-elected governor. In his *Diary* he modestly and briefly noted: "Wed., Sept. 18: A committee from both Houses notified that they had convened and of my re-election (very cloudy day)."

great regret.[2] I therefore beg leave to recommend so far as may be consistent with the Cession Act, public and good faith, that you provide in the most ample manner for the security and peaceful enjoyment of all such property as may appear to be in jeopardy.

I now proceed to enjoin on you the great necessity of promoting and encouraging manufactories, the establishing of warehouses and inspections of various kinds. It will give a spring to industry, and enable the agricultural part of the community to export and dispose of all the surplus part of their bulky and heavy articles. Providence has blessed this State with a soil peculiarly calculated for the production of wheat, hemp, flax, cotton, tobacco and indigo; it abounds with ores and minerals and has navigable rivers amply sufficient to enable us to export to the best of markets. This being the case, Gentlemen, you may readily conceive how essentially necessary it will be, for the encouraging and promoting of all the advantages enumerated, for you to lend your early legislative patronage. With respect to the affairs of Europe, I am not able to give you much satisfactory information; the public prints seem to furnish contradictory accounts; but, so far as I am capable of judging, our affairs with France assumes a much less threatening aspect than heretofore. And I have the fullest confidence that the Executive of the General Government will use the greatest and wisest exertions to promote and secure the peace, safety and dignity of the United States.

I am deeply and sensibly impressed with the honor conferred on me by my fellow-citizens in being elected a third time to preside as the chief magistrate of the State. I earnestly wish I possessed greater abilities and talents to enable me to discharge the important duties, trust and confidence they reposed; but rest assured so far as I am enabled nothing will be lacking or neglected that will tend towards the interest, welfare and safety of the State. Before I close this address, I cannot forbear requesting a harmony of measures in your councils, and that you unite in endeavoring to promote our dearest rights and interests, and I have the fullest hope, that by your wisdom and policy you may secure to our Country the advantages and respect to which it is entitled and has a right to enjoy.

September 19th, 1799.

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the Senate, and
Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

I have lately received a petition to your Honorable body from Mar-

[2] The reference, no doubt, is to the proposed removal of the original land-record books from Tennessee to North Carolina.

tin Armstrong,[3] Entry Taker for the lands reserved for the officers and soldiers of the Continental line, together with a letter directed to myself, which I beg leave to lay before you.

Government House, October 1st, 1799.

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the Senate, and
Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

I herewith send for your consideration a letter from His Excellency, Governor Davie,[4] of North Carolina, requesting the delivery of certain books and papers in the office kept by Martin Armstrong, unto commissioners appointed by that State for the purpose of receiving and conveying the same. I did not conceive it proper to suffer the books and papers to be removed out of the State, for many reasons which might be easily and readily enumerated; I have authorized the commissioners to take transcripts of the records and papers belonging to that office, which I conceived would enable the government of North Carolina to make discovery of all the frauds alledged to have been committed. Nevertheless, should you think proper to give any further or other directions they will be strictly complied with.

Government House, October 5th, 1799.

Knoxville, December 9th, 1799.

Gentlemen: By the inclosed law you will be informed that the Legislature which passed it have made it my duty to lay it through you before the President of the United States, and to request him to appoint persons of the description therein contained to mark out the road stipulated for by the fifth Article of the treaty of Holston, and in conformity thereto I instruct you to lay it before him, and to

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[3] Martin Armstrong, of Surry county, N. C., had served as brigadier general of the Eighth N. C. Brigade in the Revolutionary War. He was deeply involved in land investments in various parts of Tennessee. In 1799, he was in Tennessee engaged in promoting the town of Clarksville, a scheme in which he and Col. John Montgomery were jointly interested. Martin was a brother of John Armstrong, and was charged with complicity in the "Glasgow frauds"—perhaps as the main instigator—which concerned lands in Tennessee. *Journal of the N. C. Assembly of* 1798, *passim;* K. P. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina,* I, 378-384. For Martin Armstong's immense holdings in West Tennessee, see S. C. Williams, *Beginnings of West Tennessee,* 43, 143.

[4] William Richardson Davie, brigadier general in the Revolution, member of Federal Constitutional Convention of 1787, and minister to France in the latter part of 1799, had for a time practiced law (admitted Nov. 23, 1779) at Jonesborough, Tennessee. *Am. Hist. Mag.* (Nashville), VI, 54.

request him to make an appointment of such persons as are therein described, and for the purpose therein contemplated.[5]

This is all that is positively enjoined on me as a duty, yet I think it necessary to appraise you that it is probable that some persons who are acquainted with its contents will make statements to the President against his making such an appointment. The statements alluded to, I am taught to believe, will be to the following effect, "that at the treaty of Tellico in the talks public or private between the Commissioners of the United States and the Cherokees, the latter were given to understand that the present ferry across Clinch, which is much to their emolument, should in future be the ferry across that river under the fifth article of the treaty of Holston."

The answer to such statements is, that nations are governed in their intercourse with each other by the treaties formed between them, and not by the conversation that passed between the negotiators while they are forming.

If the President should say to you "since the people of Tennessee are dissatisfied with the passing of Clinch at the present ferry, which way do they wish it to pass," the answer is to be found in the Act itself namely, "The levelest, paying as much regard to distance as shall accord with the conveniency of the water course at fords and the mountains at the gaps most easy of ascent," and such, certainly, is the true construction of the article of the Treaty, and such I trust will be the execution of it.

But should the President ask, "what are the particular objections to passing Clinch at the present ferry," the answer is, first, that a toll or ferriage is exacted under military coertion for the benefit of the Cherokees in violation of their stipulation for a free road. If they have a right to exact any sum, however small, they may exact any other sum, however large, and thereby deprive the citizens of the United States of the benefit of the stipulation for a free road. The principle is the same, extended to a cent, a pound or a million. Secondly, that it takes cash from the pockets of those who are compelled to pay this ferriage for the benefit of the Indians, and is singularly oppressive to the movers to Mero District with their families, wagons, baggage and stocks so much so that many of them, heretofore, have been compelled to sell a part of their stock or other property under its value.

[5] The Treaty of Holston, concluded at White's Fort, site of Knoxville, July 2, 1791, in its fifth section provided that "the citizens of the United States are to have free use of a road from Washington District to Mero District," over the Cumberland Mountains.

to pay it. Thirdly, the delay unavoidable attending the passing ferries with families, wagons, baggage and stock, and the consequent expense of such delay. Fourthly, the dangers incident to a deep and wide ferry. Fifthly, that the road leading by it is no more hilly and circuitous than that it could be marked out to pass the Clinch at a very good ford only about two miles above it, and at this ford the Indians claim the land only upon the north side, their claim upon the south having been extinguished by the treaty of Tellico.[6] These reasons must convince you, if you did not already know it, that the people of Tennessee would feel a great grievance removed in the road only being changed from the ferry to this ford, which is generally passable about eight months in the year. I would not be understood by the above observations to give an opinion that this ford is the place where persons authorized to lay out the road the levelest and shortest was, as the Act contemplates, would take it across the Clinch. I only mean to say, if no more can be obtained that the road crossing at the ford in preference of the ferry will be a great relief to the people and for the above reasons. And, again, if the President will not make an appointment of commissioners to lay out the road in the latitude as contemplated by the Act, nor order that it shall pass at the ford in preference to the ferry, can't a middle ground be taken, namely, for the Indians to keep their ferry, and their road open to, and from it, and for the treaty road to be opened by the ford.

This would afford a choice to monied travelers and give great relief to movers and poor people. But observe I do not advise this, only suggest it in case nothing better can be done.

And, again, should the President have reasons, which I cannot discover or think possible, for the present passing from Washington to Mero district by way of the ferry being in future considered as the road established by the fifth article of the treaty of Holston, and you will in my judgment consult the true interest of the people of Tennessee in pointing out to him the propriety and necessity of his appointing commissioners to straighten and mark it. For you will observe, unless he does appoint persons to mark the road, that the commissioners appointed by the Act have no authority to act under it, in other words they will have no authority to open it, or exact a toll upon it for keeping it in repair. In its present state it is passed with

[6] Concluded Oct. 2, 1798. See preceding notes under text of accordant date. The ferry was at or near Kingston, Tenn. In a treaty concluded with the Cherokees at Tellico, Oct. 27, 1805, it was finally stipulated: "The Cherokees cede the section of land at Southwest Point, extending to Kingston, reserving the ferries and the first island in Tennessee River above the mouth of Clinch River."

difficulty and must be daily growing worse, so long as there shall be no law to authorise the opening and repairing it. That this is a subject in which the Legislature and people of Tennessee feel much affected is well known to you all; hence, you will see the propriety of giving me the earliest and fullest information of your proceedings, and of the determination of the President thereon. It may not however be unnecessary to remind you, that the Legislature of 1797 complained of the ferry across Clinch as a grievance in their memorial to the President and Congress,[7] and that the Legislature of 1798 presented the subject to you again in their instructions by resolutions, and now in 1799, it comes again before you in form of the present Act. This cannot but convince the President that the people consider themselves labouring under a great grievance, from which they have a right, founded on treaty, to be relieved and redressed. Knowing that you will have a multiplicity of business before you, which will perhaps put it out of your power to deliberate as fully on the subject, on which

[7] The memorial evinced bitterness towards Col. Thomas Butler, in charge of a Federal military force, and Benjamin Hawkins (see earlier notes). "Upon the arrival of Mr. Hawkins, he assumed the right over said ferry for the benefit of the Indians, that it was *Indian water,* and that the Indians owned the lands on both sides of the river (notwithstanding the said road was authorized by treaty) and rented it out to James Richardson at about three hundred dollars per annum, whereupon the said Richardson demanded and received one-fourth of a dollar for the ferriage of a man and a horse, and for other services in proportion; whereas considering the great number of horsemen, wagons, and stock that daily pass it, and the perfect security accorded to that ferry by the state of peace with the Indians, and a strong garrison at Southwest Point (within half a mile of it) one-eighth of a dollar for such service is an extravagant price.

"Observe how far the principle will extend. If the Indians or their Agent, Mr. Hawkins, in whom the people of this Country have less confidence than in the Indians themselves, have a right to demand a price for ferriage they may demand such a price as will amount to a prohibition of the use of the road altho' secured by treaty.

"Travellers, finding themselves thus imposed upon, determined to resort to a ford two miles above, to which upon the south side they could approach upon lands to which the Indian claim is extinguished, and might proceed half way across the river the Indian claim being that far also extinguished; but upon their attempting to pass, they were opposed by a military guard posted by Col. Butler on the north bank, or Indian side, and compelled with violence at the point of the bayonet to return and cross at the ferry at such prices as Mr. Hawkins had been pleased to impose. . . . The Indians yearly and daily hunt upon millions of acres of land to which their claim has for years been extinguished, unmolested by the white people. Contemplate whether such restrictions will not produce if not compel a retaliation." *House Journal of Second General Assembly* (Mrs. John Trotwood Moore, ed.) 251-53. Would Hawkins' county have taken that name after 1797?

The ferry passed from Richardson to Thomas N. Clark, a wealthy merchant of Kingston, who paid the Indians six hundred dollars per annum as rental. For glimpses of the ferry and of Clark who married a first cousin of Dolly Payne Madison, wife of President James Madison, and founded a remarkable family, see S. C. Williams, ed., *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country,* 312, 500; E. M. Wells, *History of Roane County,* 160.

this letter is written as I have had an opportunity of doing since the rise of the Legislature, therefore have taken the liberty to state my ideas on it, and hope you will not conceive that I mean to dicate to you in discharging the duties of your office.

I embrace the occasion to request you to present me respectfully to the President.

The Honorable William Cocke and Joseph Anderson, Senators, and William Charles Cole Claiborne, Representative, for the State of Tennessee in the Congress of the United States.

Knoxville, 25th February, 1800.

Gentlemen: Since my last I have learned that Bowles[8] is gaining influence over the Creek tribes, and his conduct becoming more and more menacing towards this State. I say this State because it is so much more subject and liable to the depredations of those southern nations than any of the other States, Georgia not excepted. It is to be recollected that we have in the past Indian wars suffered much more (at least ten to one) than any other State. I pray you to make every exertion in order to have our frontiers as formidably protected as possible, and by all the means in your power endeavour to have the military strength in this State augmented at least double the present numbers; which would scarcely afford a protection sufficient, should hostilities be commenced; and, in case there should not, the troops could readily be removed after discovering there was no danger to be apprehended.

Honorable William Cocke, Joseph Anderson
and William Charles Cole Claiborne.

Knoxville, 20 March, 1800.

Gentlemen: I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your several letters dated 20 February Ultimo,. in which you give me information of a resolution being offered in both Houses of Congress respecting the right of the United States to the vacant land lying within the State of Tennessee. I am sorry to observe that myself, and I presume the delegation is wholy uninstructed by the Legislature on this very important matter. You will permit me to observe that

[8] William Augustus Bowles, a native of Maryland, at the age of eighteen enlisted in the British army and served against his native country in the Revolutionary War. At Pensacola, deprived of his rank, he threw his uniform into the Gulf and joined the Creek Indians; married the daughter of a Creek chief, and gained a considerable ascendency in the nation. He had a spectacular career. W. A. Bowles, *Authentic Memoirs;* Perrin du Lac, *Travels;* "Life of Gen. W. A. Bowles" in *Public Characters of* 1802 (London).

this is a subject of high importance, and requires mature and well digested consideration, and what part is most proper for the delegation to act in the present crisis, is very difficult for me to undertake to hazard an advice or opinion upon. However, I will take the liberty of suggesting that in the first place you do not concede to one single point wherein the Government will stand committed, and that you will scan decidedly every measure attempted to be taken by the General Government to divest the State of Tennessee of the vacant and unappropriated lands. Secondly, I know of no clause in the Federal constituted compact, or indeed the North Carolina Cession Act, that would warrant a decree of the supreme judiciary of the United States unfavourable to Tennessee; but, when circumstances are duly considered, it is very problematical what might be the event of such an issue.

You will please suffer me further to say, that was there some immediate mode adopted by which the dispute could be determined, it would be more advancing the interest of the State than to let a great portion of the landed property lie in a doubtful situation; provided the adjustment of our claim was not immoderate. Would not the Legislature of the United States refer the dispute to commissioners to be appointed by the parties whose decision should be a full and complete determination. I have thought some measures like the latter would probably be most likely to bring about and produce an amicable adjustment and reconciliation between the parties concerned. Your own knowledge of the subject is competent to every thing necessary to be done, and your exertions on the occasion will not be lacking I have full confidence.

The Honorable William Cocke, Joseph Anderson and
William Charles Cole Claiborne.[9]

Daniel Smith, Esquire, Chairman of the Committee, held at Nashville on the 2nd of June, 1800:

Sir: I had the honor of receiving your address and have duly and maturely considered every part of the same.

[9] There is a break in the Executive Journal at this place. The next entry is in July, 1800, following this entry of Sevier's letter to the Tennessee delegation in Congress. No mention appears of the fact there had been a Congressional investigation of the trading houses of the federal government in Tennessee and Georgia, as appears by a printed report: *Operation of Trading Houses with the Indians in Tennessee and Georgia.* Report of Congressional Investigating Committee, April 22, 1800, 18 pp. (N. Y. 1800) with two folding charts, *"In re* Cherokee Indian Trade." The trading house in Tennessee was at Tellico Blockhouse, erected under Gov. William Blount in 1794; first factor, J. W. Hooker, succeeded in May, 1798, by James Byers.

I have long lamented the critical situation in which our most essential and important interests (to wit, our landed property) were involved; neither is it, I presume, unknown to you that I have frequently recommended it to the serious consideration of our Legislature, particularly at their last session.

You have justly observed, the Cession Act of North Carolina secures the perfecting of our titles conformable to the regulations of law in force at the time of passing said act; that under the authority of that act, the executive of North Carolina continued to perfect titles upon all entries made either before or since the passage thereof, until the fall of 1797. I coincide with the committee, that the authority to perfect the titles on the subsequent entries, could only be derived from an acquiescence of this State.

I regret much that the mother State has undertaken to make so many alterations and subsequent amendments, which particularly regards this State, that has so interwoven and complexed the land laws, that it has become in a manner almost impracticable for the citizens of this State to procure titles, be their claims ever so simple and just. In the Cession Act, and eighth provision of the same, it is expressly stipulated: "That the laws in force and use in the State of North Carolina at the time of passing of this Act, shall be, and continue in full force within the Territory hereby ceded, until the same shall be repealed or otherwise altered by the legislative authority of the said Territory."

In adverting to the foregoing part of the compact, it evidently appears that no alterations could or ought to be made, excepting by our own legislature; that should any be attempted by the parent State it may be considered as a manifest infraction of one of the most essential articles of the separation; nor ought there be any impediment thrown in our way. The people of this country have wrestled and struggled with incomparable difficulties and dangers. How frequently have many of them been bereaved of their wives and children, their dearest friends and relations? Not a horse left to draw the plough, nor a cow to give the infant milk, their houses, barns and fences wantonly burnt and destroyed by the most barbarious savage and inveterate enemy!

How few were they among us in the year 1778 when there was a land office first opened in this country, that had confidence enough in the Government to enter one acre of land? The few that did, did they not with their swords in their hands? And how little are the claims of those few patriotic adventurers respected; and how soon

would their titles be invalidated, could the least form or omission, in obtaining them, by the most scrupulous and argus eyed investigation, be discovered and deemed deficient?

When the first office was opened in this country, and entries made agreeably to that law, the Assembly of North Carolina by a subsequent act passed in the same year declared a number, out of the few made, to be illegal and void; notwithstanding it was opened on all lands that had or should accrue either by treaty or conquest: see the first land law. On renewing and again opening a land office in the year 1783, there were received into the office, kept by John Armstrong, entry taker, immense sums of money for the lands then entered; yet in the year 1785[10] there was a treaty entered into with the Indians, in which it was inimically concluded against the interests of the people of this country, and the limits so prefixed, that the Indians were again reinvested with the greater part of the lands last entered; and, notwithstanding two subsequent treaties since held, much the greater portion of the land is now guaranteed to the Indians, and the purchasing claimers prevented from making or having any use of the same.

Those embarrassments and repeated disappointments are great and insurmountable difficulties and obstacles, were we to say nothing about its cause of preventing and obstructing the emigration to, and the population of the State; and such have been the measures by which means we are greatly deprived of the most useful part of our navigable streams, and those in our vicinity which directly lead into harbours belonging to the most wealthy nations. Thus locked up is a great part of our State, one of the most healthy and convenient countries in the west: To prevent I suppose encroachments from being made on claims of some Indian hordes; are they not composed of the little tawney murdering tribes that were our earliest and most poisonous enemies; and what kind of enormities was it that escaped them during the whole course of our struggles for American liberty and independence? Was not their insignificancy such that the British nation, in their treaty with the United States, neglected to mention or make any provision for them? I hope our Government will ever be attentive to the welfare and interests of her own patriotic and virtuous citizens who have so liberally sacrificed their blood and treasure in support of their distressed and grossly injured country in the times of deep and unspeakable affliction. Let us repair, as much

[10] The Treaty of Hopewell. See as to its effects on Westerners, S. C. Williams, *Lost State of Franklin, passim.*

as possible, the losses of our own household and family before we begin to provide for a degenerated set of savage murderers and assasins of American liberty, not only so, but of innumerable numbers of our wives and children, and dearest friends and connections. I need not mention the foregoing misfortunes that have attended this country, well knowing that yourself and many of the honorable committee I have the honor to address are but too well acquainted with the melancholy circumstances. I should have complained (though painful so to do) in a much greater degree was I not consoled with the flattering expectations we have a right to look for in the great and parental care of our illustrious President, who is about to set another treaty on the carpet, which will be the second in the short time of his administration, and from the nature of our involved situation, and the just and necessary provision that ought to be made, affords us ample reason to suppose that he intends facilitating and removing every obstacle that may be in the way or prevent us from the peaceable enjoyment, and the benefits of our lands, and all the other natural and local advantages that we have a right to look for, and expect.

I trust that so very respectable and enlightened a State as North Carolina will throw off every embarrassment and incumbrance that will in any manner be detrimental in preventing the people of this State from obtaining their just and legal titles. If it should otherwise act (which I am led to believe and hope it will not) your own legislature is fully competent to the remedying and removing every defect. And tho' we may suffer some temporary inconveniencies, yet it must afford us the highest consolation when we reflect and consider that in our own State is to be found the paramount tribunal that can, and is in duty bound to, relieve and rectify all the evils that may respect the property of the citizens lying within the bounds of the same.

I now beg leave to return to the requests you have been pleased to make, and take the liberty of observing that to arrest any office, or suspend any law, is a matter of the highest importance and magnitude, and am sorry to add that I know of no clause in our Constitution that would warrant and authorise such a measure, (excepting it was done through legislative direction). I have observed how earnestly it was recommended to the last Assembly to take our landed matters into their serious consideration; and, that body having failed so to do, it would be extremely hazardous indeed for the executive to take upon himself so great and weighty a responsibility, assuring you, sir, that he does, with every deference, venerate and highly

respect the opinion and deliberations of so respectable and enlightened a body in which you had the honor to preside. I therefore hope and flatter myself that, from the reasons and observations I have stated, you will excuse, your devoted, and obedient servant.

Knoxville, July 6th, 1800.

Knoxville, 7th July, 1800.

Sir: A. M. Kilpatrick[11] lately informed me that he had applied to you as agent for the Department of War respecting his son and Kyser, who, it is supposed, were murdered by the Indians in March last. Will you be so good as to inform me what information you have received from Mr. Lewis and the Indians on the subject and whether, or not, the perpetrators are likely to be discovered.

Colonel David Henly, Agent for the Department of War.

Knoxville, July 8th, 1800.

Sir: Some time since a Mr. Kilpatrick informed me that he had reason to suspect some of the Cherokee Indians for the murder of his son and a young man by the name of Kyzer; he also informed me that he had communicated his suspicions to yourself and Colonel Henly, that you had promised him that every measure should be adopted to discover and apprehend the murderers. Under the foregoing information I have rested fully satisfied the officers of Government would exert themselves in having the perpetrators pursued, apprehended and brought forward to be dealt with in the manner established by law, and the existing treaty with that Nation of Indians, what sucess you have had in accomplishing the discovery of the murderers I have not as yet the pleasure of being informed. I hope if you have not been successful, that you will nevertheless continue by every means in your power to have them brought forward. Mr. Kilpatrick informs me that he has received information that a certain John Lawson, a white man, carried into Kiookee, (an Indian town) Kyzer's horse, which was a pacing sorrell with white in his face. Perhaps, if enquiry was made how Lawson became possesssed of the horse, it would lead to a discovery of the murderers.

Colonel Thomas Butler.

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[11] Kirkpatrick (see letter next following). Perhaps this was Kirkpatrick of the Hawkins county family of that name from which Judge Samuel Kirkpatrick of Jonesboro derived.

Knoxville, July 17th, 1800.

Sir: Yours of the eleventh Instant, with a copy of your letter to the chiefs of Cooso Watee[12] inclosed, I am duly honored by Colonel Henley. I am very sensible of your good disposition to have the murderers apprehended and brought to justice, but suffer me to remark it always requires time to effect a matter of such importance among the Cherokees. Nevertheless, I have no doubt your perseverance in the demand will compel a compliance in the surrender.

Was I capable of giving any advice on the occasion I would offer it freely; but sir, I am well persuaded your own knowledge in such cases is fully adequate and competent to every measure necessary to be taken.

Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Butler.

Knoxville, 10th September, 1800.

Sir: Your favor of the fourteenth of February, Ultimo, with its inclosure came forward to this place in June, but unfortunately I was absent on a tour for about two months,[13] which has prevented me the honor of acknowledging the receipt thereof as early as wished.

I cordially coincide in opinion with you that the opening of communication and laying out a road between the two States, the most convenient and nearest route, will contribute very importantly to the commercial and political interests of each. It is a measure I have long wished to take place, and am extremely sanguine in my expectations of the great utility whenever effected, which is by no means critical or hazardous. I do myself the honor of inclosing a copy of the act passed at our last session, and am sorry the powers left in the County Court of Cocke are not more ample and extensive. I flatter myself that body will exert their powers in co-operating with the commissioners of Georgia in facilitating so desirable and interesting a project; and have no doubt but that our Legislature at their next meeting will give it a full and complete support. The state of Kentucky is also embarking in the plan, and through our joint efforts I have full confidence we shall shortly have the pleasure to see trade and intercourse flourish in a very extensive and beneficial degree, which will no doubt very soon more than sufficiently remunerate for all the labour and expenditures that may be attended thereon.

[12] In this year Sevier made up a memorandum of the several villages of the Tennessee Cherokees with their chiefs and warriors, the latter numbering 510. The tribe was in decline. Draper MSS 11 D D 149.

[13] To the upper counties of Carter, Sullivan, Jefferson, and Washington, with a stay at the Plum Grove home on the Nolachucky River, in Washington county.

Permit me, sir, to remark that the boundary line of your state borders nearly on our frontier settlements in the counties of Blount and Sevier, and in case the Commissioners of Georgia should find it expedient to lay out a road the most direct way, which is supposed by many well acquainted to be through the Cherokee Nation directly to Tellico Blockhouse, and is also the way contemplated by Kentucky, you will then, I presume, find that your boundary line will bring you on the west side of the mountains, and nearly to an Indian town called Old High Wassee, about thirty miles distant from Tellico Blockhouse, and from which place to this there is a very level and convenient way for a road. You will also find that near the same spot will be in the vicinity of the main High Wassee river about thirty miles from the main Tennessee, into which boats of large burdens can descend, and from thence can ascend and descend throughout the States of Kentucky and Tennessee. It would be superfluous for me to say more on the advantages to be derived, well knowing that one of your honorable colleagues, and also many other gentlemen of respectability belonging to your State, are sufficiently acquainted with all the advantages that may be obtained. You will perceive, by the tenor of the enclosed act, that the road contemplated from Cocke County will have a different direction from the one last mentioned, but will afford equally in my opinion as many, if not superior, advantages; and beg leave to give it, as my farther opinion, that neither by any means ought to be neglected; the contiguity of the two States is such as affords to each very great innumerable advantages; and systems may with great ease be formed of such a contexture as will forever fix on a permanent basis the mutual interests and inseparable advantages of both countries.

The Honorable Thomas P. Carnes, Georgia.

Knoxville, 10th September, 1800.

Gentlemen: I do myself the honor of inclosing a copy of a resolution entered into by the Georgia Assembly, and also a letter from the Honorable Thomas P. Carnes, on the subject of opening a communication, and laying out a road between the two States; together with a copy of my letter to the Honorable Thomas P. Carnes. The great utility of such a measure I know you are sufficiently acquainted with, and I have no doubt you will exert your utmost endeavors in cooperating with the Commissioners appointed by the State of Georgia in accomplishing so desirable an object, so far as your powers will enable you.

The Worshipful Court of Cocke County.

Knoxville, 8th December, 1800.

Gentlemen: I find that it is almost impracticable to have the Assembly convened; the resources to meet such an occasion is doubtful and difficult in the extreme; monies levied by our Assembly have only been contemplated to serve biennial meetings, and the emergencies since the organization of the present government have occasioned several extra calls of the Legislature, which has entirely drained our treasury. So far as I have been able to collect information, the mass of the citizens are opposed to a call of the Assembly, and give as their reasons that a doubt cannot be entertained of Congress laying over the landed business so far as respects this State, until a statement of the claim is sent forward from our Legislature, which can't be done before that body convenes agreeably to the constitutional meeting in next September. I am authorized to say that it is the wish of our members to have an amicable adjustment of the landed claim, and have no doubt, that, when they meet, matters will be so arranged as to bring on an immediate decision of the business to the satisfaction of both Congress and the State of Tennessee. I therefore beg leave to give it as my opinion that you will take such measures as to you may seem most expedient to have every matter relative to the claim of the vacant lands postponed until the next meeting of Congress, before which time our Legislature will be in session, and will no doubt adopt the necessary measures for accommodation.

Permit me again to solicit your attention to the renewal of your application on the subject of the road through the Cumberland Mountain into the district of Mero; the present road by way of the South West Point is a very bad one, and you are all well acquainted that some part of it is almost impassible with carriages, particularly that part called Spencer's Hill.[14] The present road crosses Clinch much too near its mouth and out of the nearest direction, also subjects the travellers to a ferriage and the dangers attendant, when good fords are to be had above, and a way through that will, in all probability, cut near or quite a day's travel with a wagon, and not one hill or mountain to cross that is difficult until you pass the Crab Orchard; this way can be best made by crossing Clinch near Davidson's ford, then down by Poplar creek to the Big Emmery, up the same as it runs through Walden's ridge, which is level, and a

[14] Named for the celebrated Thomas Spencer who was killed on the spot by the Indians. For a graphic account of the "ill-renowned Spencer's Hill," see S. C. Williams, ed., *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country*, 503. A modern concrete, state highway has conquered the "hill" at last.

good way can be had by crossing this small river two or three times. When through the ridge, you have a level way in the Barrens until you strike the present road near the Crab Orchard, the remainder you know. This way has lately been discovered by Colonel William Davidson,[15] two of the Dearmonds[16] and several others, whose veracity can be depended on; and I am very confident that, was there suitable persons appointed to explore and view the way, a very good and convenient road may be had through the Cumberland Mountain without crossing one single hill of any magnitude. I know much of the way from a personal knowledge, and so much, that I am very certain that the present road now used, is neither the nearest nor the most convenient, and that very great and essential alterations for the better can be made. The alterations of the road proposed in this, from that of my letter on the subject at last session of Congress, is occasioned by the recent information I have received on the subject.

The Honorable William Cocke and Joseph Anderson, Senators, and William Charles Cole Claiborne, Representative, of the State of Tennessee in the Congress of the United States.

Knoxville, 5th January, 1801.

Gentlemen: Permit me to remark to you how necessary it will be to remind the President on the subject of the expected treaty, which has for some time been held out, for which an appropriation law passed the last session of Congress.[17] I hope that some person among ourselves acquainted with Indian affairs, and who has the interest of this State at heart, will be appointed to assist in the negociation otherwise I fear we shall not be much benefited.

The Honorable William Cocke, Joseph Anderson, and
William Charles Cole Claiborne.

[15] William Davidson, who in 1793 lived on Little River, Blount county, is probably referred to. His name was given to the ford mentioned in the text. Listed as Revolutionary soldier: E. M. Wells, *History of Roane County,* 30.

[16] For Dearmonds: E. M. Wells, *History of Roane County,* 19, 21, 73, 168. The first to settle in Tennessee seems to have been John Dearmond who located (1787) south of Holston River, Knox county, near Churchwell Ferry. J. G. M. Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee,* 375; see, also, Richard Dearmond, in *ibid.,* 565.

[17] Congress on May 13, 1800, made an appropriation to defray the expenses of treaties with Indians south of the Ohio. The president named Gen. James Wilkerson, William R. Davie, of N. C., and Benjamin Hawkins as commissioners, but the appearance in Washington and the remonstrance of Chief The Glass of the Cherokees caused a halt. Gen. Andrew Pickens of S. C., was substituted for Davie (declined). The commissioners failed in the accomplishment of the purpose, no part of which was to purchase more land of the Cherokees. The next treaty with that nation was not concluded until October 24, 1804.

Knoxville, 21st June, 1801.

Sir: Your favour of 17th March Ultimo inclosing an address from the board of trustees,[18] I am honored with. My absence from this place some time before and after the arrival, I hope may apoligise for not having done myself the honor of acknowledging the receipt of the same on a more early day.

Assure yourself, sir, that the same shall without delay be laid before our Legislature, when the period arrives for that body to convene, and that the Executive will exert such measures as may be thought most prudent in availing himself of giving the address every support that the nature of the same may require.

Benjamin Williams, Esquire, President of the board of trustees, of the University of North Carolina.

Knoxville, 21st June, 1801.

Sir: I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your Excellency's letter dated 3rd January, Ultimo, with a copy of the Act of the General Assembly therein inclosed, authorising the Governor to appoint commissioners for the purpose of viewing a road from your state to intersect the road leading from the States of Georgia and Tennessee. Permit me to inform you that the Legislature of Tennessee have not as yet passed any law to co-operate with the States of Georgia and Kentucky in cutting and opening such a road. The great utility and promising future advantages to be derived from such a road will unquestionably engage the attention of our Legislature, which will convene in September next. It is with much pleasure I have seen the measures adopted by the States of Kentucky and Georgia, for the purpose of opening this communication; and be assured that the advantages and prospects likely to be obtained from such an intercourse will induce the executive of this State to impress in strong colours the next assembly with the necessity and propriety of engaging immediately in co-operation in the measures.

I was from this place some time, after the arrival of your Excellency's letter; otherwise I should have done myself the honor of replying on an earlier day.

His Excellency, The Governor of the State of Kentucky.

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[18] In 1789 the North Carolina General Assembly passed an act granting to the University of North Carolina all lands that might escheat to that state. Benjamin Williams was governor in 1801, as well as president of the trustees of the University. This communication was one in regard to the university's rights to lands in Tennessee under the act referred to.

Knoxville, 30th June, 1801.

Sir: This will be handed you by Felix Walker, esquire, the same gentleman I have before named and recommended to you as a proper and suitable character to fill any deputy appointment relative to Indian affairs, should any such be authorised and found necessary. Mr. Walker has for some time, represented a very respectable county in the North Carolina Legislature; his standing in that State and acquaintance in this enable him to produce (should it become necessary) the most ample and satisfactory testimony of his upright demeanor and integrity.

I now beg leave to observe to you, sir, that there is yet remaining to be run that part, or at least a part of the line concluded on in our last treaty with the Cherokees, which runs through the bordering part of North Carolina, and also through one of her counties called Buncomb; the people have for some time past, and are still settling on the frontier of that county, and as the line has not as yet been extended. for reason I know not, it is very probable they may go beyond the line where the same may be found to run whenever the due direction may be ascertained and designated, which would occasion perhaps considerable disquiet in the Indians, and much trouble and inconveniency to those that may have so unfortunately settled.

Mr. Walker informs me that it is not only the wish of the settlers on that part, but the Government also, that there might be a comple-

[19] Felix Walker was in many respects a remarkable man, his career touching Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Mississippi. Born on the South Branch of the Potomac River in Virginia, July 19, 1753, he removed with his father, John Walker, to the present western North Carolina. His father was a colonel of colonial militia. Felix served as apprenticed clerk at Charlestown, S. C., in 1769. He then went into the Tennessee country and served as clerk of the court of the Watauga Association in 1775-76. He went with Richard Henderson and Daniel Boone to the Kentucky country and aided in the founding of Boonesborough and the government of Transylvania, 1775; in the early part of 1776, on a visit to his father's home, he accepted a commission as lieutenant in Capt. Richardson's company, Col. James Stuger's regiment, and passed over the Alleghanies and recruited a platoon of young Wataugans to go to the defense of Charlestown when attacked by the British, in the spring of 1776; this band of young westerners did good service around Charlestown. Later in 1776 and in 1777 he was captain of a company of dragoons or rangers on the Nolachucky River. He returned to North Carolina and served as clerk of the court of Rutherford county; he was six times a member of the House of Commons of North Carolina, 1792-1806; elected to Congress from Asheville or Buncombe district in 1817 and served three terms. When the Missouri question was being discussed in Congress, Walker addressed the House, and this was the occasion that gave rise to the familiar expression "talking Buncombe." An impatient member tried to stop Walker so that a vote might be taken. Walker parried: "I must make a speech for Buncombe," meaning his constituents (Webster's *Inter. Dict.*). He removed to Mississippi where he died in 1824. Walker married Susan, daughter of Col. Charles Robertson of Watauga; while Robert Sevier married another of Robertson's daughters.

tion of the line, or at least the course so accurately ascertained and demarked as would tend to prevent any mistakes in the farther settlement of that part of the country. I beg leave to submit the propriety of something to be done, on which I have taken the liberty to mention to you the subject of that part of the unextended line, and have no doubt that either your own powers, or your influence with the Executive of the United States, will be sufficiently competent to have the obstacle removed in time to prevent, perhaps, some disagreeable consequences. Any farther particulars beg leave to refer you to Mr. Walker.

Colonel Meigs.[20]

Knoxville, 15th August, 1801.

Brothers: I am sorry I have to inform you of so horrid, black and inhuman a deed committed by some of our white people, who have killed an Indian woman belonging to your Nation; but I know not from what part or town she belonged to; the woman was found when dead, and on the examination held over her it was discovered she had been shot with a ball through the body which wound had occasioned her death. Near the place there were several articles found, such as baskets, blankets, hats, petticoats and other things, which will be taken care of and kept safe for the owners. From such information as I have been able to obtain there were three other Indians in company, which I suppose and also hope made their escape and returned to their Nation, from which place as yet I have had no accounts.

Brothers, it has been and still is the sincere desire and wish of my heart that peace and friendship should subsist between my red brothers and the white people, and that the beloved chain of peace which has for some years past so strongly united and bound both Nations together, should never be broken, nor in the smallest degree

[20] Col. Return Jonathan Meigs had just been appointed (1801) agent of the Federal Goverment to the Cherokees, and had his first official residence at Tellico Blockhouse, nearly opposite the mouth of Tellico River on the Little Tennessee. A brief sketch of him appears in James Mooney's *Myths of the Cherokees,* 214-15; and a fuller sketch is in *Dict. of Am. Biog.,* XII, 508; but he deserves a yet ampler sketch, setting forth his Revolutionary War career and his extensive and commendable labors through many years in behalf of the Cherokee's advance in education, morals, and industry, and his work as treaty maker. He was a colonel in the Revolution; accompanied Benedict Arnold in the disastrous march towards Quebec, of which expedition he wrote a journal of the campaign. A grandson of the same name arose to distinction in Tennessee as lawyer, codifier of our laws, and author of a great digest of judicial decisions of the Tennessee courts of final resort. *Dict. Am. Biog.,* XII, 506.

become rusty; and be assured, my friends, that every necessary measure shall be pursued to apprehend, and bring to condign punishment the perpetrator of this horrid and unprovoked murder. Let the friends of the woman know that I have reason to believe we shall find and apprehend the person who committed the murder, and in case we shall be thus fortunate, that they may depend the culprit shall suffer agreeably to the enormity of his crime.

The Warriors and Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation.

Knoxville, 15th August, 1801.

Sir: About the 12th Instant, four Indians passed through the neighbourhood of Willis's Mill,[21] not more than six or eight miles from this place, having with them some baskets and other small articles, appearingly for traffic. It is made known to me that on the same evening near the house of a certain Tarwater's on Stock Creek, one of the Indians (a woman) was shot through the body, and of the wound shortly expired. The others, it is supposed from appearances, ran off to their towns, and left behind them some of their goods, such as petticoats, blankets, and other Indian articles, which I have ordered to be kept safe for the owners.

I should as little suspicion the neighbourhood as any in the State; but, nevertheless, the fact is, the woman is murdered in the manner related, and it has been committed by some murdering miscreant in that settlement; I am extremely sorry that such an unprovoked, pitiful, despicable, paltry, and wretched murder, not only in the present crisis of affairs but at any other time, should have taken place in Tennessee, or disgraced any country whatever. You may rest assured, and also beg you to assure the Indians that I will exert every means in my power to have the perpetrator apprehended and brought to condign punishment. I have strong hopes the assassin will be discovered; considerable inducements will be offered for that purpose, and I have flattering prospects the wretch who has committed this abominable act will not escape the punishment his crime may justly merit. I have wrote the Indians on the subject, and beg you will be pleased have the same promulgated among them.

Colonel Meigs, Agent of Indian Affairs.

Knoxville, 17th August, 1801.

Gentlemen: I am this moment honored with yours of the 16th Instant per your express. I lament much the murder lately commit-

[21] James Willis' home is mentioned in the act of the legislature which defines the boundaries of Blount county. J. G. M. Ramsey's *Annals of Tennessee*, 742.

ted on the Cherokee woman, and more if possible at the present juncture of affairs, than at any other time such a baneful piece of barbarity could have been perpetrated.

You may rest assured, I have not been inactive on the occasion, and do with pleasure assure you that I have flattering hopes I shall suceed in discovering and bringing to justice, the perpetrator of the horrid crime. I have wrote to Colonel Meigs, and the Chiefs on the subject, which letters I expect ere this have reached the point, and make no doubt you have been made fully acquainted with the contents. I beg leave here again to repeat that I shall exert every means in my power to accomplish a discovery and apprehension of the guilty person. I am sensible of the effect this will have on the minds of the Indians, and the necessity of a speedy exertion to have the offender brought to justice.

Permit me, gentlemen, to congratulate you on your safe arrival in Tennessee, wishing you every success in your mission,[22] and that your conference may terminate agreeably to the wishes of yourselves and fellow Citizens.

Brigadier General Wilkinson, and
Benjamin Hawkins, esquire.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and
Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

The period has again arrived which by our Constitution requires your convening in General Assembly, in order to discharge these important trusts and duties confided to your care by your Constituents, the free and independent citizens of the State of Tennessee; the period has also arrived by which the same instrument has limited the time to which the Executive who has now the honor of addressing you is to cease and expire; and as a successor is in a very short time to take place, I shall not trouble your honorable body with a lengthy and tedious address.

I have the honor of informing you, as far as the most recent information has been received, that a profound peace and tranquility abounds through our young and rising republic. It has been my sincere wish and ardent desire from the first day I entered into office, until the present, that such a pacific state should exist and continue to be cherished as one of the greatest objects which would be most likely to prosper, promote and render respectable the interest and welfare of the State of Tennessee. And I thank Providence I have so

[22] See note 17.

far been successful; that for the last six years, comparatively speaking, little or no disturbance has taken place in any quarter between our frontier citizens and the neighbouring tribes of Indians. The laws of the government have been duly obeyed and strictly complied with in every instance so far as I have been able to obtain information. As to the agricultural prospects, Providence has been bountiful and propitious in an extensive degree; so far as respects the productions of the earth they abound in great abundance, and in a manner that promise the most ample supply of all the necessaries of life for the inhabitants, and an abundant overplus and redundancy for market and exportation. I now consider it my duty to remind you that it is to be feared that all Commonwealths sooner or later must be protected by a military force; which last to be respectable depends altogether on order and discipline, without which the greatest number of men are mobish and contemptable. A handful of regular trained troops can easily disperse them. It follows then that the citizens at large ought to submit to order and discipline, or otherwise commit the safety of their lives and property to a distinct body of men who will naturally set up (as have been observed by able writers) a professional interest separate from the community at large. To this cause alone, it may be truly alledged, has been the subversion of many free states. Therefore let every citizen of the State be a soldier in fact, as well as in name, and all be rigid observers of military discipline and institutions. Every State ought to be extremely cautious to have efficient laws to their militia and I am induced to believe and hope that every good citizen will take pride in paying the most sacred and solemn regard to those laws upon which their lives, liberties and property so materially and essentially depend. A well regulated militia is the great and natural strength of the State, and will be forever absolutely necessary for its safety and preservation.

Permit me next to request your attention to the improvement of roads and inland navigation. It is extremely flattering to find that, on examination, and the ways being somewhat explored, that roads can so easily be made passable for carriages to travel into the States of South Carolina and Georgia and the distance comparatively short. A small support and patronage of the Government would sufficiently complete this desirable and lucrative intercourse and communication with these two States, who have the same much in contemplation as may be discovered from their Acts and no doubt from their liberal and philanthropic disposition, they would readily yield their support and hearty concurance in so beneficial and advantageous an object.

I shall now submit to your honorable consideration a participation in the navigation of those rivers which are the natural and inherent right of this State, and am sorry to add that the citizens of this country have so much right to complain and lament the shameful neglect of this all important and interesting subject, without the attainment of which it is almost impossible that the State of Tennessee can long exist in any degree of credit and political respectability. Therefore, let me intreat you gentlemen to take immediate measures for the attainment and improvement of all such parts of the exportable rivers, so far as they may pass through the chartered limits of this State; and for such exterior navigation as have communication with the same, that you seriously address the National Legislature for their immediate aid to open and faciliate every object that impedes the shortest and most convenient intercourse between Tennessee and Orleans, Mobile, Pensacola, or any other port or place on our side of the Atlantic. The object is of such magnitude and utility to the welfare and conveniency of every part of this government that a delay ought no longer to be dispensed with. Lend you support and patronage to science and all useful manufactories; encourage men of literature, science and mechanism to resort thither, by which means many of such description will be induced to repair to this country and become useful to the community at large, and provide comfortably for themselves and families.

I need not mention to you, as it is within your own knowledge, the very embarrassed state and situation of much of the landed property lying within this State. It will require your immediate interposition and attention in order to pass such Acts as in your wisdom you may deem necessary for reconciling and conciliating the minds of by far the greater bulk and mass of your constituents. The laws of North Carolina have been so varied and altered since our separation from that State that it is with the utmost difficulty a citizen from the State of Tennessee can procure a grant after traveling some hundreds of miles and expending much of their time and money. I don't wish to be understood as throwing out any exclamations against the government of North Carolina, having no doubt their political situation demanded the measures adopted, but it has nevertheless consequently involved the citizens of this State in a very difficult and embarrassing situation. It is to be questioned and very much doubted whether any grant obtained from North Carolina for lands within this government since the time of the organization of the State of Tennessee will have that effect and validity that so

solemn an instrument ought to support and maintain; the face of those grants carry with them marks of jealousy and suspicion, and in fact only appear to bear testimony of being intended for the purpose of validity and effect within the State wherein they were issued. In the forms and requisites composing those grants it is required that the grantee yield and pay to that State such sums of money, yearly, otherwise as the General Assembly from time to time may direct; and provides always that the grant shall be registered in one of her counties within a certain period, otherwise the same shall be void and of no effect. It may be alledged that these are only kind of formalities made use of in issuing of grants, but on the other hand you will please to observe it appears now, and no doubt will be argued on a future day, that it is a very express and bonafide condition, on which the lands were granted. I have taken the liberty to suggest the foregoing ideas on the subject, having no doubt you will pursue such measures as will tend to the interest and security of the people, hoping it may assist in bringing to your recollection how essentially necessary it will be to take the matter under your mature deliberation.

The State of Tennessee possesses every power, privilege, sovereignty and jurisdiction that any of the original States in the Union enjoy; and, such being undeniably the case, what hesitation can there remain to prevent you from passing laws to enable the citizens to obtain a full and complete perfection of all their titles and grants, they have a right to receive and are entitled to. You will readily see the impropriety of other States undertaking and appointing officers for the discharge of the most important business in the State of Tennessee, independently of her control, or subject to her laws. It is a practice inconsistent with the liberties of a free state, and never before submitted to.

I congratulate you, gentlemen, on the late appointment to the Presidential Chair of Thomas Jefferson, esquire, the patriot, statesman and philosopher. He was the choice of this State, and I hope the flattering prospects anticipated from his administration will speedily be realized.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives, being now about to close my official appointment with which the free citizens of the State have been pleased to vest and honor me, I hope you will please to have all my official transactions and communications read and examined in your respective houses, in order that yourselves, together with my fellow citizens, may be able the better to judge how far I have discharged the duties of that im-

portant trust deposited in the hands of the Executive. I now conclude in wishing you a happy, speedy and prosperous session such as may redound to your own honor, and the interest and welfare of your constituents, for whose prosperity and happiness I shall always feel the most sincere and interesting regard.

Knoxville, 22nd September, 1801.

Knoxville, 22nd September, 1801.

Sir: I have the pleasure of announcing to you that I have been officially informed and notified by the Speakers of both houses of the General Assembly that you are again reelected by the free citizens of the State of Tennessee, to represent them in the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States. Permit me, sir, to congratulate you on experiencing once more the confidence of a free and independent people, while on the other hand, I am sorry to add that from the nature and dignity of another office, recently conferred upon you by the President of the United States,[23] I fear it will not be in your power to serve your constituents agreeably to their wishes and expectations. My dear sir, believe me to be most entirely and sincerely yours

William Charles Cole Claiborne.

[23] Claiborne had been appointed governor of the Mississippi Territory and chose to accept same. When Claiborne came to Tennessee, Sevier gave him aid and patronage.

NOTES AND NEWS[1]

Copies of the Society's *Publications,* numbers 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, may be purchased of the Secretary, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee, at $2.00 per copy.

All who are interested in the history of Tennessee are eligible to membership. The annual publications are mailed to all members.

The C. M. McClung Award for 1933 was won by Dr. Stanley J. Folmsbee for his contribution, "The Beginnings of the Railroad Movement in East Tennessee," to the Society's *Publications,* number 5. The three judges were Professors W. K. Boyd, Duke University; R. S. Cotterill, Florida State College; and W. O. Lynch, Indiana University.

The Society's annual banquet was held on the evening of October sixth, at the Hotel Andrew Johnson. Mr. Paul M. Fink, of Jonesboro, spoke informingly of "Smoky Mountains History as Told in Place Names;" while Judge Samuel C. Williams, of Johnson City, discoursed on "The Tennessee Valley." The McClung Award was presented upon this occasion.

At its November meeting, the Society was the guest of the University of Chattanooga. Fittingly the occasion coincided with the celebration of the seventieth anniversary of the Civil War campaigns around that city. Dr. Culver H. Smith was in charge of the program. Judge Charles W. Lusk presented a paper, "Some Phases of Chattanooga History During the Civil War." Dr. Herschel C. Landru, Historical Technician, United States Department of the Interior, explained "The New Historical Program of the Federal Government in Tennessee." After a round table discussion of these topics Mr. Walter Cline exhibited a part of his collection of Civil War rifles and pistols; and Mr. Madison Bratton displayed other relics. A wall exhibit, prepared by Mr. Oswald Camp, featured scenes from the Chickamauga battlefield.

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[1] This compilation is largely the work of the Society's secretary, Miss Laura E. Lutrell.

At the December meeting the following officers were elected for 1934: President, Dr. S. J. Folmsbee; Vice-Presidents, Judge S. O. Houston, Knoxville, Judge S. C. Williams, Johnson City, and Honorable Newell Sanders, Chattanooga; Treasurer, Mr. Harvey Broome; Secretary, Miss Laura E. Luttrell; Members of the Executive Committee, Professor V. M. Queener and Miss Mary U. Rothrock.

One of the papers presented at the Annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Urbana, Illinois, was that of Dr. Frank L. Owsley, Vanderbilt University, on "Three American Crusades: Abolition; Reconstruction, Scottsboro."

At the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association held in Chicago, in April, papers were read by Dr. P. M. Hamer, University of Tennessee, "John Stuart and the Regulation of Indian Trade in the South;" Dr. Daniel M. Robison, State Teachers College, Memphis, "Tennessee Politics and the Agrarian Revolt, 1886-1896;" and Mr. George F. Milton, Editor, *Chattanooga News*, "Stephen A. Douglas."

Dr. Harcourt A. Morgan, President of the University of Tennessee, has been appointed by President Roosevelt as one of the three members of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority. While Dr. Morgan's time is occupied by the duties of this new position, Dean J. D. Hoskins is Acting President of the University and Dr. P. M. Hamer is Acting Dean of the College of Liberal Arts.

Acting President James D. Hoskins, University of Tennessee, was elected president of the Tennessee College Association at the annual meeting of this body, in April, at Vanderbilt University. He succeeds President Alexander Guerry, University of Chattanooga.

The Tennessee Valley Authority has obtained the part time services of Miss Mary U. Rothrock, Librarian of Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, to supervise the library activities of the Authority. A technical library is being established at the Knoxville offices and a public library at the town of Norris, now being constructed within a few miles of the Norris Dam site.

Honorable Cordell Hull, United States Senator from Tennessee, was appointed Secretary of State by President Roosevelt. Secretary Hull headed the American delegation to the London Economic and

Monetary Conference in June, 1933. Judge Nathan L. Bachman, of Chattanooga, succeeded to Hull's seat in the United States Senate.

Honorable Hill McAlister, Governor of Tennessee, is a descendant of Willie Blount, one of the early governors of the State. Aaron Venable Brown, another and later chief executive of the State, is also numbered among the ancestors of the present governor.

A portrait of Ex-Governor Henry H. Horton, painted by Cornelius Hawkins, Nashville artist, has been placed in the Tennessee State Library. The presentation and unveiling occurred on January fifteenth.

T. S. Stribling, of Clifton, Tennessee, was awarded a Pulitzer prize, May fourth, for his novel, *The Store*, which was adjudged the best of the year.

The library of the late Augustin Gattinger, botanist, has been presented by Misses Augusta and Pennie Gattinger, surviving daughters, to the library of George Peabody College for Teachers.

A monument to Colonel John Donelson and to Mrs. Rachel Stockley Donelson, erected at the grave of Mrs. Donelson at Edenwold, was unveiled April twenty-fourth, the 153rd anniversary of the landing of the "good boat, *Adventure*" with pioneers led by Colonel Donelson. The monument was sponsored by the Rachel Donelson Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, and erected by descendants of the Donelsons. Mrs. Emily Donelson Walton, ninety-three year old great granddaughter of Colonel John Donelson, was present and participated in the ceremonies.

A granite monument in honor of fifty-nine men of Etowah, Tennessee, who made the supreme sacrifice while participating in the World War, was dedicated on Memorial Day. The monument is placed in the Louisville and Nashville Railway Park at Etowah. The American Legion sponsored the program. Rev. G. K. Patty delivered the address.

A monument of Georgia granite to the Confederate soldiers who fought at Fort Donelson, February, 1862, was dedicated, June third, in the National Military Park at Dover. The Tennessee Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy was in charge of the ceremonies.

The Fort Loudoun Association, formed for the restoration of the fort erected on Little Tennessee River, in Monroe county, in 1756-57, elected as president, Mr. Horace VanDeventer, Knoxville; vice-president, Mr. James Huff, Rockwood; secretary, Miss Elizabeth Taliaferro, Loudon; treasurer, Mr. Henry Hudson, Knoxville. Vice-presidents for Middle and West Tennessee are to be named by the Colonial Dames. A bill passed by the General Assembly of Tennessee provided for the creation of a board of trustees for Fort Loudoun. In accordance therewith Governor McAlister has appointed nine members to the board. In addition, the governor, chief justice and speakers of the two houses are ex-officio trustees.

A bronze memorial tablet to the memory of Captain John Gordon, Nashville's first postmaster and hero of many Indian battles, was unveiled, July thirtieth, 1932. It is placed upon a granite monument near the eastern entrance to the Nashville post office. Miss Camille Gordon, of Columbia, Tennessee, unveiled the tablet. Mrs. John Trotwood Moore presided at the ceremonies and Judge John H. DeWitt delivered the address. A duplicate marker was unveiled at the tomb of Captain Gordon at Rose Hill cemetery at Columbia, by Columbia Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution. The descendants of Captain Gordon provided the funds for the erection of these memorials.

A bronze marker has been placed on the site of the Nashville Female Academy in memory of Miss Elizabeth Elliott, educator and historian. Rev. C. D. Elliott, her father, was the last president of the academy. The memorial, unveiled April twentieth, was erected by Colonel Thomas McCrory Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution. Judge John H. DeWitt spoke on "The Nashville Female Academy and its Contribution to Early Education in Tennessee."

A marble and bronze bust of Andrew Jackson, commemorating his victory at New Orleans, was unveiled January eighth in the Tennessee capitol by the Ladies' Hermitage Association. Captain G. T. Fitzhugh, of Memphis, spoke in praise of "Old Hickory." Judge John H. DeWitt accepted the gift on behalf of the State.

Roane county and the Tennessee Society, Daughters of 1812, placed a marker at the Court House in honor of the fifty men of Kingston, who enlisted for the New Orleans campaign. James F.

Littleton, of Kingston, and James F. Corn, of Cleveland, spoke at the unveiling, which occurred on November twenty-fifth.

The James K. Polk relics have been removed from the War Memorial building in Nashville to the Polk Mansion at Columbia. They have been loaned to the James K. Polk Memorial Association for permanent exhibit as the Polk home is maintained as a museum.

A monument in honor of James Thomas, Revolutionary soldier, was erected at the old Thomas home site three miles from Sweetwater. A shaft to the soldier's wife was erected, also, by a descendant, Mr. W. E. Thomas, of Nashville. Mrs. C. L. Clark, Regent of Rhea Craig Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, had charge of the unveiling ceremonies. The date was June first.

A marker on the Andrew Jackson highway near Etowah, telling of activities of pioneer settlers during the American Revolution, was dedicated May twenty-sixth. The erection of the marker was sponsored by Ocoee Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, and Alexander Doren Chapter, Daughters of 1812, of Etowah. The late John Trotwood Moore designed the marker. Colonel D. B. Todd, of Etowah, was in charge of the program.

To mark historic places in Polk county, four large tablets have been despatched by Mrs. John Trotwood Moore, State Librarian. The markers, to be placed by the schools nearest the sites, are for the Old Federal Road, across Cherokee Nation mail trail, Benton to Ducktown, 1840-55; the Old Copper Road; Old Tennessee, the first smelter in the Ducktown basin; and the Old Hiwassee Mine, where the first copper was discovered in the Ducktown basin.

Three markers of the Old Immigrants' Trail were dedicated, May twenty-fifth, at the first marker ten miles from Nashville on the Gallatin road. These markers were gifts of local chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Many distinguished guests were present at the unveiling ceremonies. Judge J. H. DeWitt was the chief speaker.

The new post office and federal building at Chattanooga was dedicated, December sixth, with special ceremonies. Congressman Samuel D. McReynolds presided. Mr. Kilroy P. Aldrich, of Washington, representing the Post Office Department, was the principal

speaker. He gave a history of the mail service and post office of Chattanooga.

Montvale Springs Hotel, Blount county, was destroyed by fire November twentieth. Sidney Lanier spent the summer vacation of 1860 at this mountain resort. His grandfather, Sterling Lanier, built the first hotel (also destroyed by fire) and distinguished guests from all the Southern states made Montvale a fashionable and delightful place. Sidney Lanier reproduced the life of Montvale Springs in *Tiger-Lilies*. Charles Todd chose the same setting for *Woodville*, the first Tennessee novel. Mr. Ludwig Pflanze, present owner of this estate, will continue to entertain guests in the cottages connected with the resort.

New Bethel Presbyterian church, situated in the forks of the Holston and Watauga rivers and founded by Rev. Samuel Doak and Rev. Joseph Rhea, celebrated its sesquicentennial on August twentieth, 1932.

McKendree Methodist church, Nashville, celebrated, in May, its hundredth anniversary on the present site at 523 Church Street. The church was named in honor of William McKendree, the first American born Methodist bishop. Reverend Earl G. Hamlett is the present pastor. A number of bishops, ministers and other church leaders participated in the four-day program of the celebration.

The centennial of the founding of St. James Parish, Bolivar, was observed May seventeenth. The sermon was delivered by Bishop Thomas F. Gailor. The present rector is Reverend Grant Knauff. The parish was founded by Reverend Daniel Stephens.

Bodies of former residents of the Tennessee Valley buried in the region to be flooded by the Norris Dam Lake will be removed by the Tennessee Valley Authority and probably placed in a national memorial cemetery. A church advisory committee to assist the Authority in the removal of churches and cemeteries has been formed. Engineers have estimated that about 4,260 bodies must be removed.

Greeneville, one of the oldest Tennessee towns, celebrated its sesquicentennial, August sixteenth to eighteenth—three days of festivity. The most thrilling event of the celebration was a pageant portraying the history of Greeneville from pioneer days to the present time.

Livingston, county seat of Overton county, observed its centennial on August tenth. United States Secretary of State Cordell Hull was one of the speakers. The town was founded by two soldiers of the Revolution, Ambrose and Joseph Gore.

A pageant depicting the discovery of the Mississippi River by De-Soto formed the outstanding event of the Memphis Cotton Carnival, May tenth to twelfth.

The Great Smoky Mountains Publicity Association produced a mountain music pageant depicting the history of the Tennessee Valley and the Smoky Mountains. This was given October twenty-fifth at Caswell Park, Knoxville. Many of those taking part in the pageant were descendants of pioneers and of veterans of the Battle of King's Mountain. The singing of mountain ballads and of "Old Harp" tunes were features of the pageant.

Ex-Governor Benton McMillin died, January eighth, 1933, at his home in Nashville.

The *Chattanooga Times,* December third, inaugurated a department of genealogy, conducted by Mrs. Penelope J. Allen. During the month, in the Sunday issues, sketches of the Gamble, Lauderdale, Patterson and Brooke families appeared. Queries, responses and church records are included in the items.

In *The Lookout,* Chattanooga, Miss Zella Armstrong continues to publish sketches and records of Revolutionary pensioners of Tennessee, also genealogical data.

Mr. William E. Beard, associate editor of the *Nashville Banner,* is the author of a number of historical sketches captioned "Tennessee Yesterdays." First these were broadcast during the radio period of the *Banner* and then printed in the paper. These included many sketches such as "Tennessee and Prohibition;" "Felix Grundy Comes to Nashville;" "Andrew Jackson Goes to War;" "Exit Hugh Lawson White;" "Tennessee's First Constitutional Convention;" "The Mysterious Ku Klux Klan."

"Dropped Stitches in Southern History" is a department of history and genealogy in the Sunday issues of the *Memphis Commercial Ap-*

peal. The conductor is Mrs. John Trotwood Moore, Librarian, Tennessee State Library, Nashville.

Dr. Robert H. White, author, contributes to the *Nashville Banner* and the *Knoxville Journal* "Stray Bits of Tennessee History."

DIRECTORY OF CONTRIBUTORS

Paul M. Fink, Jonesboro banker, is a profound student of Smoky Mountain history, both remote and recent.

V. M. Queener is associate professor of history, Maryville College, Maryville, Tennessee.

Robert H. White, historical investigator and prolific writer, resides in Nashville, Tennessee.

Culver H. Smith is professor of history, University of Chattanooga, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

Edd Winfield Parks is a member of the Department of English, Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tennessee.

S. J. Folmsbee is a member of the Department of History, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

Laura E. Luttrell, Secretary of the East Tennessee Historical Society, is a member of the staff of the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Samuel C. Williams, prominent legalist of Johnson City, Tennessee, has written voluminously on early Tennessee history.

LIST OF MEMBERS

LIFE MEMBERS

Lt. Col. Fay W. Brabson, Washington, D. C.
Gen. Charles T. Cates, Knoxville
Mr. E. Y. Chapin, Chattanooga
Miss Virginia Cox, Jonesboro
Mr. Oscar Handley, Knoxville
Mr. J. Fred Johnson, Kingsport
Mrs. C. M. McClung, Knoxville
Mrs. J. F. Johnston, Chattanooga
Mrs. Cyrus Griffin Martin, Chattanooga
Mrs. Thomas Mellish, Cincinnati
Mr. Adolph S. Ochs, New York City
Mrs. W. C. Ross, Knoxville
Hon. Newell Sanders, Chattanooga
Mr. F. A. Stratton, Mount Vernon, N. Y.
Hon. J. A. Susong, Greeneville
Mr. W. W. Woodruff, Knoxville

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Mr. L. M. G. Baker, Knoxville
Mrs. W. P. Bowdry, Fort Worth, Texas
Mr. J. P. Brown, Chattanooga
Chattanooga Public Library
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